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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE.

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMY,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES,

And an eighth in Quarto, containing Maps, Plans, Views, and Coins, illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.

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ERRATA.

Page 96, line 2, for 375, read 357.
—— 118, — 7, for *is one*, read *is of one*.
—— 120, — 10, for *Colone*, read *Colonos*.
—— 173, — 16, for *oplitæ*, read *oplites*.
—— 286, — 9, for *their*, read *the*.

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TRAVELS IN GREECE.

CHAP. I.

*Departure from Scythia.—The Tauric Cherſoneſus *. The Pontus Euxinus †.—State of Greece, from the taking of Athens, Anno* A. C. 404, *to the Departure of Anacharſis on his Travels.—The Thracian Boſphorus.—Arrival at Byzantium ‡.*

ANACHARSIS, a native of Scythia, the ſon of Toxaris, is the author of this work, which he addreſſes to his friends. He begins by ſtating to them the motives that induced him to travel.

You know that I am deſcended from the ſage Anacharſis, ſo celebrated among the Greeks, and

* The Crimea.
† The Black Sea.
‡ Conſtantinople.

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ſo unworthily treated by the Scythians. The hiſtory of his life and death inſpired me, from my earlieſt childhood, with eſteem for the nation which had honoured, and with diſtaſte for that which knew not how to appreciate, his virtues.

This diſguſt was ſtill more increaſed by the arrival of a Greek ſlave whom I purchaſed. He was of one of the principal families of Thebes in Bœotia. About thirty-ſix years before*, he had followed the younger Cyrus in the expedition undertaken by that prince againſt his brother Artaxerxes, king of Perſia. Being taken priſoner in one of thoſe engagements to which the Greeks were compelled in their retreat, he frequently changed maſters, and wore the chains of ſervitude in different nations, till chance brought him to the country in which I lived.

The more I became acquainted with him, the more ſenſible was I of the aſcendancy of an enlightened over an uninſtructed people. Timagenes, for that was the Theban's name, at once delighted and humbled me by the charms of his converſation, and the ſuperiority of his knowledge: the hiſtory of the Greeks, their manners, governments, ſciences, arts, feſtivals, and ſpectacles, were the inexhauſtible topics of our converſation. I interrogated him, and I liſtened to his replies with tranſport. I was then juſt entering my eighteenth

* The year 400 before J. C.

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year, and my imagination added the liveliest colours to the richness of his descriptions. I had hitherto seen nothing but tents, flocks, and deserts. From this time, incapable of enduring the wandering life I had till then led, and the profound ignorance to which I was condemned, I resolved to abandon a climate where Nature scarcely provided for the necessities of man, and a nation whose only virtue seemed to me to consist in its ignorance of vice[a].

I have passed the prime years of my life in Greece, in Egypt, and in Persia; but my longest abode was in the former of these countries. I enjoyed the last moments of its glory, nor quitted it till I saw its liberty expire in the plain of Chæronea. While visiting its provinces, I carefully noted down every thing that I believed to merit attention, and from this journal, on my return to Scythia, I drew up the narrative of my travels; which possibly would have been more accurate, had not the ship by which I sent my books been lost in the Euxine sea.

And you, whom I was so fortunate as to know in my journey into Persia, you, Arsames and Phedime, illustrious pair, how often have I been on the point of inserting your names in my narrative! In how lively a manner did they recur to my remembrance, when I had to pourtray some supereminent quality of the heart or mind; or to speak of benevolence and

[a] Justin. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 2.

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gratitude! You have claims upon this work. I partly compoſed it in that delightful reſidence of which you conſtitute the nobleſt ornament; I finiſhed it far from Perſia, yet, as I may ſay, always under your eyes; for the moments paſſed with you can never be obliterated from my memory. The recollection of theſe will conſtitute the happineſs of the remainder of my life, and I have no other wiſh but that, after my death, theſe words ſhould be deeply engraven on the ſtone that covers my aſhes: "He obtained the friendſhip of Arſames and Phedime."

Towards the end of the firſt year of the 104th Olympiad *, I took my departure with Timagenes, to whom I had given his liberty. After traverſing vaſt ſolitudes, we arrived on the banks of the Tanais, near to the ſpot where it falls into a kind of ſea, known by the name of the Lake, or Palus Mæotis. There taking ſhipping, we proceeded to the city of Panticapæum, ſituated on an eminence[b], near the entrance of the ſtrait called the Cimmerian Boſphorus, which joins the Palus Mæotis to the Euxine ſea.

This city, where the Greeks formerly eſtabliſhed a colony[c], is become the capital of a ſmall empire which extends along the eaſtern coaſt of the

* In the month of April of the year 363 before J. C.
[b] Strab. lib. 7, p. 309.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 310. Plin. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. i. p. 218.

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Cherſoneſus Taurica. Leucon had reigned there about thirty years[d]. He was a generous and magnificent prince[e], who more than once had defeated conſpiracies and gained victories by his addreſs and courage[f]. We did not ſee him, for he was then at the head of his army. The inhabitants of Heraclea in Bithynia had ſome-time before appeared with a powerful fleet, to make a deſcent on his dominions: Leucon, perceiving that his troops made but a feeble oppoſition to the enemy, placed a body of Scythians in the rear, with orders to attack them, if they had the cowardice to give way[g].

A ſaying of this king is related, which I cannot repeat without ſhuddering. His favourites, by falſe accuſations, had driven away ſeveral of his friends, and obtained poſſeſſion of their fortunes. He at length diſcovered their villany, and one of them having laid a new information of the ſame kind, "Wretch," ſaid he to him, "I would put "thee to death, were not ſuch raſcals as thou art "neceſſary to deſpots[h]."

The Tauric Cherſoneſus produces corn in abundance, and the earth, barely grazed by the ploughſhare, yields the huſbandman an increaſe of thirty

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 432.
[e] Chryſip. ap. Plut. de Stoicor. repugn. t. ii. p. 1043
[f] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6, cap. 9.
[g] Id. ibid.
[h] Athen. lib. 6, cap. 16, p. 257.

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for one[i]. The commerce carried on there by the Greeks was so great, that the king was obliged to open a port capable of containing a hundred vessels[k], at Theodosia*, another city of the Bosphorus. The Athenian merchants resorted in crowds either to this place, or to Panticapæum. They were subject to no duties either in imports or exports; in gratitude for which, the republic enrolled this prince and his children in the number of her citizens[l] †.

We found a Lesbian vessel almost ready to sail, and Cleomedes the commander agreed to take us on board. Whilst we were waiting for her departure, I was incessantly in motion, and could never satisfy myself with viewing the citadel, the arsenal, the harbour, the vessels, their rigging, and manner of working; I entered at random into private houses, manufactories, and the most inconsiderable shops; I went out of the town, and my eyes were fixed on orchards covered with fruit, and fields laden with rich harvests. My sensations were lively, and my narratives full of animation. I could not complain of wanting witnesses to my delight; I spoke of my pleasure and admiration to every person I saw: I ran to Timagenes to com-

[i] Strab. lib. 7, p. 311.
[k] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 546. Strab. lib. 7, p. 309.
* Now called Caffa.
[l] Demosth. ibid. p. 545.
† See note at the end of the volume.

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municate to him every thing that ſtruck me, as if it were as novel to him as to myſelf; I aſked him whether the lake Mæotis was not the largeſt ſea, and Panticapæum the handſomeſt city, in the world.

In the courſe of my travels, and eſpecially at my ſetting out, I experienced ſimilar emotions as often as nature or induſtry preſented to me new objects; and when they were ſuch as to elevate the ſoul, my admiration could be relieved only by tears, which it was impoſſible to withhold, or by tranſports of joy that Timagenes was unable to moderate. At length, as my ſurpriſe has diminiſhed, the delights ariſing from that ſource have vaniſhed; and I have found with pain, that we loſe in pleaſurable ſenſation what we gain in experience.

I ſhall not deſcribe the feelings with which I was agitated, when, on quitting the Cimmerian Boſphorus, the ſea called the Euxine gradually expanded itſelf to my ſight*. It is an immenſe baſon, almoſt every where ſurrounded by mountains more or leſs diſtant from the ſhore, and into which near forty rivers pour their waters, from part of Aſia and Europe[m]. Its length is ſaid[n] to be eleven thouſand and one hundred ſtadia†, its greateſt

* See the map of the Pontus Euxinus.
[m] Strab. lib. 7, p. 298.
[n] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 85.
† About 419½ leagues.

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breadth three thousand three hundred *. Its borders are inhabited by various nations, who differ from each other in their origin, manners, and language °. At intervals, and chiefly on the southern coasts, we meet with Grecian cities founded by the inhabitants of Miletus, Megara, and Athens, built for the most part in fertile situations, and well calculated for commerce. To the east is Colchis, celebrated for the Argonautic expedition, so embellished by fable, and which rendered the Greeks better acquainted with these remote countries.

The rivers that fall into the Euxine, cover it with flakes of ice in severe winters [p], mitigate the saltness of its waters, and convey into it an enormous quantity of mud and vegetable substances, which attract and fatten the fish [q]. Tunny, turbots, and almost every species, resort thither to deposite their spawn, and multiply the more, as this sea nourishes no voracious or destructive fish [r]. The Euxine is frequently enveloped in dark fogs, and agitated by violent tempests [s], and that season is generally made choice of for its navigation when

* About 124¾ leagues.

° Amm. Marcell. lib. 22, cap. 8.

[p] Herodot. ap. Macrob. lib. 7, cap. 12. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 640.

[q] Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. 8, c. 19, t. i. p. 913. Voyag. de Chard. t. i. p. 107.

[r] Arist. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 17, t. i. p. 874. Strab. lib. 7, p. 320. Plin. lib. 9, cap. 15, t. i. p. 507. Amm. Marcell. lib. 22, cap. 8, p. 318.

[s] Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxxii. p. 639. Voy. de Chard. t. i. p. 92.

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ſhipwrecks are leaſt frequent[t]. It is not deep[u], except towards the eaſtern part, where Nature has formed gulphs, the bottom of which no ſounding line has yet been able to reach[x].

Whilſt Cleomedes was informing us of theſe particulars, he had ſketched on his tablets the circuit of the Euxine. When he had finiſhed, You have, ſaid I, traced out, without perceiving it, the figure of the bow that we make uſe of in Scythia.—It is preciſely of that ſhape[y].—But I ſee no outlet to this ſea. It communicates with the others, replied he, only by a longer and narrower channel than that we have juſt left.

Inſtead of ſteering directly for this ſtrait, Cleomedes, fearful of quitting the coaſt, directed his courſe to the weſtward, inclining afterwards to the ſouth. As we ſailed along the ſhore, our converſation turned on the nations that dwell on it; and we ſometimes ſaw the flocks approach the ſea, which affords them a drink equally agreeable and ſalutary[z]. We were told that in winter, when the ſea is frozen[a], the fiſhermen of theſe diſtricts pitch their tents on its ſurface, and throw their lines through holes made in the ice[b]. At a diſtance

[t] Voyag. de Tournefort, t. ii. lett. 16.
[u] Strab. lib. 1, p. 50.
[x] Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 13, t. i. p. 545. et 546.
[y] Strab. lib. 2, p. 125. Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 157. Schol. ibid.
[z] Arrian. Peripl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 8.
[a] Voy. de Tourneſ. t. ii. p. 130.
[b] Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 12, t. i. p. 543.

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we were ſhewn the mouth of the Boryſthenes *, that of the Iſter †, and other rivers. We frequently paſſed the night on land, and ſometimes at anchor [c].

One day, Cleomedes telling us that he had formerly read the hiſtory of the expedition of the younger Cyrus: Greece then is attentive to our misfortunes, ſaid Timagenes; that circumſtance renders them at leaſt leſs bitter for thoſe whoſe fate it is to have ſurvived them. And by what hand is the picture drawn?—It is, anſwered Cleomedes, by one of the generals who led back the Greeks into their country; Xenophon of Athens.—Alas! replied Timagenes, this is the firſt news I have heard of him ſince about thirty-ſeven years that fate has ſeparated me from him. Ah! how happy ſhould I have been once more to have ſeen him after ſo long an abſence! But I greatly fear that death——Take courage, ſaid Cleomedes, he is ſtill living.—Bleſſed be the gods, replied Timagenes! He lives! He will receive with pleaſure the embraces of a ſoldier; of a friend whoſe life he more than once has ſaved. The Athenians no doubt have loaded him with honours.—They have baniſhed him, replied Cleomedes, for appearing too much attached to the Lacedæmonians [d]!—But in his re-

* Now the Dnieper.
† The Danube.
[c] Demoſth. in Polycl. p. 1087.
[d] Diog. Laert. in Xenoph. lib. 2, § 51.

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tirement, at leaſt, he attracts the attention of all Greece?—No; every eye is fixed on Epaminondas of Thebes.—Epaminondas! What is his age? What is the name of his father?—He is about fifty, the ſon of Polymnis, and brother of Caphiſias [e].—It is he, cried Timagenes with emotion; it is he himſelf. I have known him from his childhood. His features are ſtill before my eyes: we were early united by the ties of blood. I was but a few years older than he; he was educated in the love of poverty, and the love of virtue. Never did youth make a more rapid progreſs in every exerciſe of body and mind. His maſters were unable to ſatisfy his inſatiable thirſt for knowledge. I well remember that we could never force him from the company of a gloomy and rigid Pythagorean named Lyſis [f]. Epaminondas was but in his twelfth or thirteenth year when I joined the army of Cyrus; yet the preſages of a great character were frequently to be obſerved. It was not difficult to foreſee the aſcendancy he would one day acquire over other men [g]. Pardon my importunity. How has he fulfilled theſe brilliant expectations?—He has raiſed his nation, by his exploits, to the rank of the firſt ſtate in Greece, an-

[e] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 576. 579. Nep. in Epam. cap. 1.

[f] Nep. ibid. cap 2. Plut. ibid. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 17.

[g] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.

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ſwered Cleomedes.—O Thebes! exclaimed Timagenes; O my country! the happy abode of my infancy! Still happier Epaminondas!——An involuntary oppreſſion hindered him from proceeding. In my turn, I cried out: Oh! how worthy is that man of being beloved who has ſuch ſenſibility! and, throwing myſelf on his neck, My dear Timagenes, ſaid I, ſince you intereſt yourſelf ſo much in the fortune of the ſpot where you accidentally were born, what muſt be your ſentiments for the friends whom you yourſelf have choſen! He anſwered, preſſing my hand, I have often told you of that unalterable love the Greeks always retain for their country. It was with difficulty you could conceive it. Judge by my tears whether it be profound and ſincere. And he actually ſhed tears.

After a few moments ſilence, he enquired by what means a revolution ſo glorious for the Thebans had been effected. You cannot expect from me, ſaid Cleomedes, a circumſtantial detail of all that has paſſed ſince your departure. I ſhall confine myſelf to the principal events, which will ſuffice to inform you of the preſent ſtate of Greece.

You cannot be ignorant that by the taking of Athens *, all our republics fell, in ſome meaſure, under ſubjection to the Lacedæmonians; that ſome were compelled to ſolicit, and others to ac-

* The year 404 before J. C.

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cept their alliance. The shining qualities and illustrious exploits of Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, seemed to threaten them with a long slavery. This great man having been called into Asia to the aid of the Ionians, who, from their having taken part with the younger Cyrus, had reason to apprehend the utmost vengeance of Artaxerxes, several times defeated the generals of that prince; and his views enlarging with his successes, he had already conceived the project of carrying his arms into Persia, and attacking the great king even on his throne [h].

Artaxerxes diverted the storm, and by sums of money, distributed in several of the Grecian cities, detached them from the Lacedæmonians [i]. Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and other states, formed a powerful league, and assembling their combined forces in the fields of Coronea, in Bœotia *, they soon came to action with the troops of Agesilaus, compelled by an order from Lacedæmon to interrupt the course of his conquests. Xenophon, who fought near the person of this prince, affirms that he never saw a more bloody battle [k]. The Lacedæmonians had the honour of the victory; and

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[h] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 603. Nep. in Ages. cap. 4.
[i] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 513. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 604. Id. Lacon. Apopht. t. ii. p. 211.
* The year 393 before J. C.
[k] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 605. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 659.

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the Thebans that of effecting their retreat without being forced to a ſhameful flight [1].

This victory, by eſtabliſhing the power of Sparta, gave birth to new diſſenſions and new confederacies. Even among the victors ſome were weary of their ſucceſs, others of the glory of Ageſilaus. The latter, headed by the Spartan Antalcidas, propoſed to king Artaxerxes to give peace to the Grecian nations. Their deputies aſſembled, and Teribazus, the ſatrap of Ionia, declared to them the will of his maſter, in the following terms *:

"King Artaxerxes thinks it juſt, 1ſt, That the "Greek cities of Aſia, as well as the iſles of Cla- "zomenæ and Cyprus, ſhould remain united to "his empire; 2dly, that the other Greek cities "ſhould be free, except the iſles of Lemnos, Im- "bros and Scyros, which ſhall appertain to the "Athenians. He will join his forces to thoſe of "the ſtates which ſhall accept theſe conditions, "and employ them againſt thoſe which ſhall re- "fuſe to receive them [m]."

The final concluſion of a treaty which entirely changed the political ſyſtem of Greece, was entruſted to the Lacedæmonians, who had originally

[1] Xen. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4, p. 519. Plut. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 302.

* The year 387 before J. C.

[m] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 550. lib. 6, p. 602. Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 369. Plut. Apopht. Lacon. t. ii. p. 213.

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conceived the idea, and regulated the articles; by the firſt of which they again brought under the yoke of the Perſians the Aſiatic Greeks, the preſervation of whoſe liberty had occaſioned the loſs of ſo much blood for near a century; and by the ſecond, which obliged the Thebans to acknowledge the independence of the cities of Bœotia, they enfeebled perhaps the only power in a condition to oppoſe their projects[n]. Neither the Thebans nor Argives, therefore, would accede to the treaty, till they were conſtrained to it by force; the other republics received it without oppoſition, and ſome even with joy.

A few years after *, the Spartan Phœbidas paſſing with a body of troops into Bœotia, encamped in the vicinity of Thebes[o]. The city was divided into two factions, each headed by one of the chief magiſtrates. Leontiades, the leader of the party devoted to the Lacedæmonians, perſuaded Phœbidas to take poſſeſſion of the citadel, and aſſiſted him in the enterprize. This was in the time of profound peace, and at the inſtant when the Thebans, devoid of fear or ſuſpicion, were celebrating the feſtival of Ceres[p]. So ſtrange an act of

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[n] Xenoph. ibid. p. 551. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608. Nep. in Pelopid. cap. 1.

* The year 382 before J. C.

[o] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, t. i. p. 556. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 1.

[p] Xenoph. ibid. p. 557. Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 280.

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perfidy became ſtill more odious from the cruelties exerciſed on the citizens who were attached to the true intereſts of their country. Four hundred of theſe ſought an aſylum with the Athenians. Iſmenias, the chief of that party, had, under frivolous pretexts, been loaded with chains and put to death.

This excited a general clamour throughout Greece. The Lacedæmonians ſhuddered with indignation, and demanded with fury whether Phœbidas had received orders to perpetrate ſuch an atrocious action [q]. Ageſilaus replied that a general may be allowed to exceed his powers, when the welfare of the ſtate requires, and that the proceedings of Phœbidas ſhould be judged only according to this principle. Leontiades, who was then at Lacedæmon, appeaſed the minds of the citizens, by exaſperating them againſt the Thebans. It was determined to retain poſſeſſion of the citadel of Thebes, and that Phœbidas ſhould be condemned to pay a fine of a hundred thouſand drachmas [r].

Thus, ſaid Timagenes, interrupting Cleomedes, Lacedæmon profited by the crime, and puniſhed the criminal [s]. But what now was the conduct of Ageſilaus?—He was accuſed, replied Cleomedes,

[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 557, et 558. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608.
[r] Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 280. Nep. in Pelopid. cap. 1.
[s] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 4, p. 296.

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of being the secret author of the enterprize, and of the decree that completed its iniquity [t]. You had inspired me with some esteem for this prince, said Timagenes; but after so infamous an action— Hold, answered Cleomedes, know that the virtuous Xenophon has never ceased to admire, esteem, and love Agesilaus [u]. I have myself made several campaigns under that prince. I do not speak of his military talents. You will see his trophies erected in several of the provinces of Greece and Asia [x]: but thus much I can assure you, that he was adored by the soldiers [y], with whom he shared every difficulty and danger; that, in his Asiatic expedition, he astonished the barbarians by the simplicity of his demeanour, and the elevation of his sentiments; that he astonished us at all times by new proofs of disinterestedness, frugality, moderation, and benignity; that without thinking of his own greatness, without fearing lest others should forget it, he was of easy access, and possessed an engaging familiarity, untainted with rancour or jealousy [z], and was ever ready to listen to our complaints. In a word, his manners were as austere as those of the most rigid Spartan; nor was the most amiable Athenian ever endowed

[t] Plut. in Ages. p. 609.
[u] Xenoph. Hist. Grec. lib. 5. Id. in Ages.
[x] Isocr. Archid. t. ii, p. 38.
[y] Xenoph. in Ages. p. 667.
[z] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 599.

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with a more cultivated and elegant understanding [a]. I shall add but one stroke to this eulogium. In those splendid conquests which he made in Asia, it was always his first care to render more supportable the hard fate of the prisoners, and to restore liberty to the slaves [b].

Alas! what avail all these good qualities, replied Timagenes, if he has tarnished them by giving his sanction to the injustice exercised against the Thebans?—Yet he considered justice, said Cleomedes, as the first of virtues [c]. I acknowledge that he did sometimes violate it, and without attempting to apologize for such violation shall observe, that it was only to favour his friends, and never to distress his enemies [d]. He changed his conduct respecting the Thebans, either from a persuasion that all means were lawful to humble a power which was the rival of Sparta, or that he thought proper to avail himself of the opportunity to revenge his personal injuries. He had brought all his passions under subjection except one, which mastered him; and, fortified by the suppression of the others, was become tyrannical, unjust, and incapable of pardoning an offence. This was an inordinate love of glory, a sentiment the Thebans had more than

[a] Xenoph. in Ages. p. 619. Plut. in Ages. p. 596.
[b] Xenoph. ibid. p. 654.
[c] Plut. Lacon. Apopht. t. ii. p. 213.
[d] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 598. Id. Lacon. Apopht. p. 209.

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once wounded in his person[e], especially by disconcerting his project of dethroning the king of Persia.

The decree of the Lacedæmonians was the æra of their decline. The greater part of the allies abandoned them; and, three or four years after *, the Thebans shook off an odious yoke[f]. Some intrepid citizens, in one night, in a single moment, destroyed the partizans of tyranny; and their first efforts being seconded by the people, the Spartans evacuated the citadel. Young Pelopidas, one of the exiles, was among the principal leaders of this conspiracy[g]. Distinguished as he was by birth and wealth, he shortly became conspicuous by actions the splendour of which reflected honour on his country.

All conciliatory means were henceforward impracticable to the two nations. The hatred of the Thebans was extremely augmented from having received a severe injury, and that of the Lacedæmonians from having been the aggressors. Though the latter were engaged in several wars, they made some irruptions into Bœotia. Agesilaus twice conducted thither[h] those soldiers who had ever been accustomed to conquer under his command. That

[e] Xenoph. lib. 7, p. 621. Plut. in Ages. p. 599.
* The year 379 or 378 before J. C.
[f] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5, p. 566.
[g] Plut. in Pelop. p. 281. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 2.
[h] Xenoph. Hist. l. 5, p. 572, et 575. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. ad ann. 378.

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general being wounded in an indecisive action; the Spartan Antalcidas, pointing to the blood streaming from his wound, said to him, "Behold the fruit of "the lessons you have given the Thebans[i]." And indeed the latter, after at first suffering their fields to be laid waste, tried their strength in skirmishes, which soon became frequent. Pelopidas led them daily against the enemy; and, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his character, checked them in their successes, encouraged them in their defeats, and gradually taught them to brave those Spartans, whose reputation they formerly had dreaded still more than their valour. As for himself, instructed by his own errors and the examples of Agesilaus, he adopted the experience of the ablest general of Greece, and in a succeeding campaign gathered the fruit of his labours and reflections.

He was in Bœotia[k], and marching towards Thebes *, when he fell in with a body of Lacedæmonians, much more numerous than the forces he had under his command, returning by the same road. A Theban horseman, who had advanced before the army, and discovered them coming out of a defile, hastened back to Pelopidas: "We "have fallen," exclaimed he, "into the hands of "the enemy."—"And why should you not say

[i] Plut. in Pelopid. p. 285.
[k] Id. ibid.
* The year 375 before J. C.

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"the enemy have fallen into ours?" replied the general. Until this time, no nation had ventured to attack the Lacedæmonians with equal, ſtill leſs with inferior forces. The conflict was bloody, and victory hung long in ſuſpenſe. The Lacedæmonians, having loſt their two generals and the flower of their warriors, opened, without breaking their ranks, to let the enemy paſs; but Pelopidas, wiſhing to remain maſter of the field of battle, charged them a ſecond time, and at length enjoyed the pleaſure of completely defeating and diſperſing them.

This unexpected ſucceſs aſtoniſhed Lacedæmon, Athens, and all the Grecian republics, who, fatigued with the miſeries of war, reſolved to come to an amicable termination of their differences. The general aſſembly was convoked at Lacedæmon [1], where Epaminondas appeared, with the other deputies of Thebes.

He was then in his fortieth year. He had hitherto, according to the advice of the ſages, led a retired and concealed life [m]; nay, he had done ſtill better, by enabling himſelf to render it of utility to others. On coming out of his minority, he took on himſelf the completion of his education. Notwithſtanding the mediocrity of his fortune, he procured Lyſis the philoſopher to live

[1] Xenoph. lib. 6, p. 590.
[m] Plut. de Occult. Vivend. t. ii. p. 1129.

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with him [n], and deeply imbibed the ſublime ideas of virtue taught by the Pythagoreans; and that virtue which ſhone in his minuteſt actions, rendered him inacceſſible to every ſpecies of fear. At the ſame time that he was fortifying his health by running, wreſtling [o], and ſtill more by temperance, he ſtudied mankind, conſulted the moſt enlightened ſages [p], and meditated on the reſpective duties of the general and magiſtrate. In his public harangues, he did not diſdain the ornaments of art [q]; but the eloquence of great ſouls was always their predominant embelliſhment. His talents, which have placed him in the foremoſt rank of orators, ſhone forth for the firſt time at the conference of Lacedæmon, the operations of which were guided by Ageſilaus.

The rights and intereſts of the different republics were there diſcuſſed by their reſpective deputies. I accidentally obtained a ſight of the harangues of the three ambaſſadors from Athens. The firſt was one of the prieſts of Ceres, elated with his birth, and proud of the encomiums he received or beſtowed upon himſelf [r]. He enumerated the important commiſſions the Athenians

[n] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, c. 17. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 356. Id. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 246. Cicer. de Off. lib. 1, cap. 44, t. iii. p. 223.

[o] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.

[p] Id. cap. 3.

[q] Id. cap. 5.

[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. lib. 6, p. 590.

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had entruſted to his family; talked of the benefits the ſtates of Peloponneſus had received from the deities whoſe miniſter he was, and concluded by obſerving that war could not begin too late nor terminate too ſpeedily. Calliſtratus, a celebrated orator, inſtead of defending the general intereſt of Greece, had the indiſcretion to inſinuate, in preſence of all the allies, that the partial union of Athens and Lacedæmon would ſecure to thoſe two powers the ſovereignty both of the ſea and land. Autocles, the third deputy, boldly expatiated on the repeated injuſtice of the Lacedæmonians, who were perpetually ſummoning the nations to receive liberty, while they in reality held them in bondage, under the idle pretext of being guarantees to the treaty of Antalcidas.

I have already ſaid that, by this treaty, all the Grecian cities ſhould be free: but the Lacedæmonians, whilſt they kept the cities of Laconia in dependence, haughtily required that thoſe of Bœotia ſhould no longer be ſubject to the Thebans [s]. As they were launching out into bitter complaints againſt the latter, and no longer expreſſing themſelves with their cuſtomary preciſion, Epaminondas, wearied with their prolix invectives, ſaid to them one day: "You will at leaſt allow that we have "made you lengthen your monoſyllables [t]." The

[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 366.
[t] Plut. de Sui Laude, t. ii. p. 545. Id. Apopht. t. ii. p. 193.

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diſcourſe he then pronounced, made ſo powerful an impreſſion on the deputies, as to alarm Ageſilaus. The Theban forcibly inſiſted on the neceſſity of a treaty ſolely founded on juſtice and on reaſon: "And does it appear to you juſt and reaſonable," ſaid Ageſilaus, "to grant independence to the "cities of Bœotia?"—"And do you," replied Epaminondas, "think it reaſonable and juſt to "acknowledge the independence of thoſe of La-"conia?"—"Explain yourſelf roundly," ſaid Ageſilaus, inflamed with paſſion; "I aſk you, "whether the cities of Bœotia ſhall be free?"—"And I," anſwered Epaminondas ſternly, "de-"mand of you, whether thoſe of Laconia ſhall "be ſo?"—On theſe words, Ageſilaus effaced the name of the Thebans from the treaty, and the aſſembly ſeparated [w].

Such, it is pretended, was the iſſue of this famous conference. Some indeed relate it differently, and more to the advantage of Ageſilaus [x]. Be that as it may, the principal articles of the decree of the aſſembly expreſſed that the troops ſhould be diſbanded, all the ſtates enjoy their liberties, and that each of the confederate powers ſhould be permitted to ſuccour the oppreſſed cities [y].

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[w] Id. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 611.
[x] Xenoph. lib. 6, p. 593.
[y] Xenoph. lib. 6, p. 593. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 355.

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There was yet time for negociation, but the Lacedæmonians, hurried on to their ruin by a ſpirit of infatuation[a], gave orders to their king Cleombrotus, who commanded the allied army in Phocis, to march into Bœotia. This army conſiſted of ten thouſand foot ſoldiers, and one thouſand horſe[a]. The Thebans could only oppoſe to theſe forces ſix thouſand infantry[b], and a ſmall body of cavalry; but Epaminondas was at their head, and had under him Pelopidas.

It was aſſerted that ſiniſter omens had been obſerved; he anſwered, that the beſt of preſages was to defend our country[c]. Favourable oracles were likewiſe reported; and on theſe he appeared to rely with ſuch confidence as to be ſuſpected of being their author[d]. His troops had deeply imbibed his own ſpirit. The cavalry of the enemy, picked up as it were by chance, had neither experience nor emulation[e]. The allied cities had conſented to this expedition with the greateſt reluctance, and it was with regret the ſoldiers began their march. The king of Lacedæmon was no ſtranger to this diſcouragement; but he had ene-

[a] Xenoph. ibid. p. 594.
[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. 1. p. 288.
[b] Diod. ibid. p. 367.
[c] Id. ibid.
[d] Xenoph. ibid. p. 595. Diod. ibid. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 2, c. 3, § 8.
[e] Xenoph. lib. 6, p. 596.

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mies, and risked every thing rather than furnish their hatred with new pretexts[f].

The two armies met near a small town in Bœotia called Leuctra. On the evening before the battle, whilst Epaminondas was making his dispositions, and anxious about an event which was to decide the fate of his country, he learnt that an officer of distinction had just expired quietly in his tent: "Ye Gods!" cried he, "how is it possible to "find time to die in such a situation[g]!"

The next day* was fought that battle, rendered for ever memorable by the great abilities displayed by the Theban general. Cleombrotus was posted on the right of his army with the Lacedæmonian phalanx[h], protected by his cavalry which formed the front line. Epaminondas, certain of the victory if he could break this formidable wing, resolved to refuse his right to the enemy, and to attack with his left. He filed off thither his best troops, drew them up fifty deep, and placed his cavalry likewise in the front. Cleombrotus observing this, changed his first disposition; but instead of giving his wing more depth,

[f] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1, cap. 24, t. iii. p. 201.
[g] Plut. de San. Tuend. t. ii. p. 136.
* The 8th of July of the Julian proleptic year, 371 before J. C.
[h] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6, p. 596. Diod. lib. 15, p. 370. Plut. in Pelopid. p. 289. Arrian. Tactic. p. 32. Folard. Trait. de la Colon. chap. 10, in the first volume of the Translation of Polybius, p. 57.

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he extended it to outflank Epaminondas. During this movement, the Theban cavalry poured on that of the Lacedæmonians, and drove them back on their phalanx, which was only twelve deep. Pelopidas, who commanded the ſacred battalion *, took it in flank, and Epaminondas fell upon it with all the weight of his column. The phalanx ſuſtained the ſhock with a courage worthy of a better cauſe, and a happier ſucceſs. Prodigies of valour could not ſave Cleombrotus. The warriors around him ſacrificed their lives either in defence of his, or to reſcue his body, which the Thebans had not the honour to carry off the field.

After his death, the Peloponneſian army retired to their camp, ſituated on an adjoining eminence. Some Lacedæmonians propoſed to renew the battle [i]; but their generals, terrified at the loſs that Sparta had juſt ſuſtained, and not knowing how to confide in allies who were more pleaſed than afflicted at her humiliation, ſuffered the Thebans peaceably to raiſe a trophy on the field of battle. The loſs of the latter was inconſiderable; that of the enemy amounted to four thouſand men, among whom were a thouſand Lacedæmo-

* This was a band of three hundred young Thebans, renowned for their valour.

[i] Xenoph. lib. 6, p. 597.

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nians. Of seven hundred Spartans, four hundred lost their lives [k].

The first intelligence of this victory excited in Athens only an indecent jealousy of the Thebans [l]. At Sparta it awakened those extraordinary sentiments which the laws of Lycurgus imprint in every heart. The people were attending at solemn games, where men of all ages disputed the prize of wrestling, and other gymnastic exercises. On the arrival of the messenger, the magistrates foresaw that the fate of Lacedæmon was decided; and, without interrupting the exhibition, sent to inform each family of the loss they had sustained, exhorting mothers and wives to support their grief in silence. The next day, the relations of the slain were seen, with joy painted on their countenances, thronging to the temples and the forum, to thank the gods, and mutually to congratulate each other, on having given such brave citizens to the state. The others dared not to expose themselves to the public eye, or appeared only with the emblems of sorrow and of mourning. The painful sensation of shame, and the love of their country, were so prevalent among the greater number, that husbands could not bear to be

[k] Id. ibid. Diod. lib. 15, p. 371.
[l] Xenoph. ibid. p. 598.

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looked on by their wives, and mothers trembled for the return of their ſons [m].

The Thebans were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that the philoſopher Antiſthenes ſaid: "Me-"thinks I ſee a number of ſcholars proud of hav-"ing beaten their maſter [a]!" On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians, unwilling to confeſs their defeat, required that the matter in diſpute ſhould be referred by both nations to the Acheans [o].

Two years after [p], Epaminondas and Pelopidas were named Bœotarchs, or chiefs of the Bœotian league [q]. The concurrence of circumſtances, mutual eſteem, friendſhip, and a uniformity of views and ſentiments, formed an indiſſoluble union between theſe two great men. The one undoubtedly poſſeſſed more virtues and talents, but the other almoſt raiſed himſelf to a level with him by acknowledging his ſuperiority. With this faithful companion of his labours and his glory, Epaminondas entered Peloponneſus, ſpreading terror and deſolation through the ſtates in alliance with Lacedæmon [r], haſtening the defection of others, and breaking the yoke under which the Meſſenians

[m] Xenoph. lib. 6, p. 597. Plut. in Ageſil. t. i. p. 612.
[a] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 59.
[o] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 2, p. 127.
[p] Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 279.
[q] The year 369 before J. C.
[r] Xenoph. lib. 6, p. 607. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4, cap. 8.

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had groaned for centuries. Seventy thouſand men, of different nations, marched under his orders with an equal confidence[r]. He led them to Lacedæmon, reſolved to attack her inhabitants even at their very doors, and to erect a trophy in the middle of the city.

Sparta has neither walls nor citadel[s], but Ageſilaus took care to line with troops ſeveral riſing grounds within its precincts, and placed his army on the declivity of the higheſt of theſe eminences. From hence was it that he diſcovered Epaminondas approaching at the head of his army, and making his diſpoſitions to paſs the Eurotas, ſwelled by the melting of the ſnow. After long following him with his eyes, he only ſuffered theſe words to eſcape him: "What a man! What a prodigy[t]!"

Meanwhile this prince was agitated by the moſt cruel anxiety. Without, was a formidable army; within, a ſmall body of ſoldiers, who no longer believed themſelves invincible, and a great number of factious citizens who took every kind of licence. To theſe were added, the murmurs and complaints of the inhabitants, who ſaw their poſſeſſions ravaged, and their lives in danger;

[r] Plut. in Pelop. p. 290; in Ageſ. p. 613. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 375, et 390.

[s] Xenoph. ib. p. 608. Id. in Ageſ. p. 662. Liv. lib. 34, cap. 38, et lib. 39, cap. 37. Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 6. Juſtin. lib. 14, cap. 5.

[t] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 613.

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the general outcry, which accuſed him of being the author of the miſeries of all Greece; and the painful recollection of a reign once ſo ſplendid, and diſhonoured towards its cloſe by a ſpectacle no leſs novel than tremendous: for, during ſeveral centuries paſt, the enemy had ſcarcely ventured on a few haſty incurſions on the frontiers of Laconia [y]; and never had the Spartan women beheld the ſmoke of their camp [z].

Notwithſtanding theſe juſt ſubjects of alarm, Ageſilaus exhibited a ſerene countenance, and deſpiſed the inſults of his enemies, who, to force him to relinquiſh his poſition, alternately reproached him with cowardice, and laid waſte the adjacent country in his ſight. Whilſt this was tranſacting, about two hundred conſpirators having gained poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, difficult to force, it was propoſed to him to march a body of troops againſt them; but Ageſilaus rejected this advice, and preſenting himſelf to the rebels, followed by a ſingle attendant: "You "have miſtaken my orders," ſaid he to them; "it was not hither you ſhould have repaired, but "to ſuch and ſuch a place;" pointing at the ſame time to thoſe in which it was his intention to diſ-

[y] Thucyd. lib. 2, c. 25; l. 4, c. 41; l. 5, c. 14. Plut. in Per. p. 170.

[z] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 30. Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. ap. Orat. Græc. p. 99. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 377. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13, c. 42. Plut. in Ageſ. p. 613.

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perſe them. They inſtantly obeyed, and proceeded without heſitation to the different ſtations he aſſigned them [y].

Meanwhile Epaminondas deſpaired of drawing the Lacedæmonians into the plain. The winter was far advanced. Already the inhabitants of Arcadia, of Argos, and of Elea, had abandoned the ſiege. The Thebans were ſuffering daily loſſes, and began to want proviſions. The Athenians and other ſtates were making levies in favour of the Lacedæmonians. Theſe reaſons induced Epaminondas to retreat. He ſpread devaſtation through the reſt of Laconia; and, after avoiding the army of the Athenians commanded by Iphicrates, led back his own without interruption into Bœotia [z].

The chiefs of the Bœotian league hold their office only for a year, at the expiration of which they ſhould reſign the command to their ſucceſſors. Epaminondas and Pelopidas had retained their authority four months longer than the term preſcribed by law [a]. For this they were accuſed, and judicially proſecuted. The latter defended himſelf without dignity, and had recourſe to ſupplications; but Epaminondas appeared before his judges with the ſame tranquillity as at the head of

[y] Plut. in Ageſ. p. 614.
[z] Xenoph. lib. 6, p. 612.
[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. 1. p. 290. Nep. in Epam. cap. 7.

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his army, and thus addreſſed them: "The law "condemns me; I merit death[b]. I only de- "mand that this inſcription be engraven on my "tomb: The Thebans have put Epaminondas to "death, becauſe at Leuctra he forced them to at- "tack and vanquiſh thoſe Lacedæmonians whom "they did not before dare to look in the face; "becauſe his victory ſaved his country, and re- "ſtored liberty to Greece; becauſe, under his "command, the Thebans beſieged Lacedæmon, "which deemed herſelf too fortunate to eſcape "from ruin; and becauſe he rebuilt Meſſena, "and ſurrounded it with ſtrong walls[c]!" All preſent applauded this ſpeech of Epaminondas, and the judges did not dare to condemn him.

Envy, which receives new animation from the failure of its projects, believed the opportunity to humble him was now arrived. In the diſtribution of public offices, the conqueror at Leuctra was appointed to ſuperintend the cleanlineſs of the ſtreets, and the maintenance of the common ſewers of the city. He gave dignity to this employment, and ſhewed, as he himſelf had ſaid, that we ſhould not judge of men by their places, but of places by thoſe who fill them[d].

During the ſix years which have ſince elapſed,

[b] Plut. de Sui Laude, t. ii. p. 540.
[c] Nep. in Epam. cap. 8. Ælian. lib. 13, cap. 42.
[d] Plut. de Præcept. Reip. t. ii. p. 811.

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we have more than once ſeen Epaminondas render the Theban arms reſpected in Peloponneſus, and Pelopidas exhibit them triumphant in Theſſalia[e]. We have ſeen the latter choſen arbitrator between two brothers, competitors for the throne of Macedon; and, after having terminated their differences, and reſtored peace to that diſtracted kingdom[f], paſs to the court of Suza[g], where, preceded by his fame, he received the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, entirely * diſconcerted the meaſures of the ambaſſadors of Athens and Lacedæmon, who were ſoliciting the alliance of the king of Perſia, and obtained for his country a treaty of ſtrict union with that prince.

He laſt year † headed an expedition againſt a tyrant of Theſſaly, named Alexander, and fell in battle while purſuing the enemy, whom he had reduced to a ſhameful flight[h]. Thebes and the allied powers wept his death: Thebes has loſt one of her ableſt ſupporters, but Epaminondas ſtill lives. He projects to give the fatal blow to Lacedæmon. All the Grecian republics are dividing, forming leagues, and making immenſe

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[e] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 616 et 624. Plut. in Pelopid. p. 291. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 280, 283.
[f] Plut. ibid.
[g] Xenoph. lib. 7, p. 620. Plut. ibid. p. 294.
* The year 367 before J. C. Dodwell. Annal.
† The year 364 before J. C.
[h] Plut. in Pelop. p. 296. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 5. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 286.

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preparations. It is said that the Athenians will join the Lacedæmonians; but that this union will not deter Epaminondas. The next spring will decide this mighty quarrel.——Such was the recital of Cleomedes.

After several days favourable navigation, we arrived at the Thracian Bosphorus, the name given to the channel of which Cleomedes had spoken. Its entrance is dangerous; contrary winds often drive vessels on the neighbouring coasts[i], where navigators are condemned either to death or slavery; for the inhabitants of that country are real barbarians, since they are cruel[k].

On entering the channel*, the crew addressed repeated thanksgivings to Jupiter, surnamed Urius, whose temple we had seen on our left on the Asiatic coast, and who had preserved us from the danger of so tempestuous a sea[l]. In the mean time, I observed to Timagenes, that the Euxine sea receives, as it is said, near forty rivers, some of them very considerable, which cannot all escape by so inadequate an outlet[m]. What then, said I, becomes of that prodigious quantity of water which falls day and night into this vast reservoir?—You see part of it flow through the strait, answered

[i] Voy. de Chard. t. i. p. 100.
[k] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7, p. 380 et 412.
* See the map of the Thracian Bosphorus.
[l] Chishull. Antiq. Asiat. p. 61.
[m] Voy. de Tournefort, t. ii. p. 125.

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he. The remainder is raiſed in vapour, by the rays of the ſun; for the waters of this ſea being freſher and conſequently lighter than thoſe of other ſeas, more eaſily evaporate[n]. And how can we be certain but that thoſe abyſſes of which we heard Cleomedes ſpeak, may abſorb part of the waters of the Euxine, and convey them to diſtant ſeas by ſubterraneous paſſages under the Continent?

The Thracian Boſphorus divides Europe from Aſia. Its length, from the temple of Jupiter to the city of Byzantium, where it terminates, is one hundred and twenty ſtadia[o] *; its breadth is various; at the entrance it is four ſtadia[p] †, at the other extremity fourteen ‡; and in certain places its waters form large baſons and deep bays[q].

On each ſide, the country riſes in an amphitheatre, and preſents the moſt agreeable and highly diverſified points of view: hills clothed with wood, and fertile valleys, form, at intervals, a ſtriking

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[n] Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 2. t. i. p. 552.

[o] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 85. Polyb. lib. 4, p. 307 et 311. Arrian. Peripl. p. 12. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i.

* 4 leagues 1340 toiſes (2861 yards).

[p] Herodot. ibid. Strab. lib. 2, p. 125.

† 805 yards.

‡ 2825 yards. The ancients differ amongſt themſelves, and ſtill more the moderns, reſpecting theſe meaſures, as well as reſpecting thoſe of the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Helleſpont. I have generally adhered to thoſe of Herodotus, as the beſt known at the time of this voyage.

[q] Voy. de Tourneſ. t. ii. p. 156.

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contraſt with the rocks, which ſuddenly change the direction of the channel [r].

On the higheſt of theſe eminences are diſcovered monuments of the piety of the people; on the ſhore, delightful houſes, tranquil harbours, cities and towns enriched by commerce, and ſtreams pouring forth the tribute of their waters. Theſe proſpects are animated, in certain ſeaſons, by numberleſs boats employed in the fiſhery, and veſſels under ſail for the Euxine, or returning laden with its produce.

Towards the middle of the channel, we were ſhewn the place where Darius, king of Perſia, paſſed ſeven hundred thouſand men he was leading againſt the Scythians, over a bridge of boats. The ſtrait, which is only five ſtadia in breadth *, is there narrowed by a promontory, on which ſtands a temple of Mercury [s]. At this ſpot, two men placed, the one in Europe, the other in Aſia, may eaſily make themſelves heard by each other [t]. Soon after, we came in ſight of the citadel and walls of Byzantium, and entered the port, after leaving on the left the little city of Chryſopolis, and diſcovering, on the ſame ſide, that of Chalcedon.

[r] Id. ibid. p. 125.
* 1008 yards.
[s] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 311. Plin. lib. 4, cap. 24.
[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 635.

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CHAP. II.

Deſcription of Byzantium.—Voyage from that City to Leſbos.—The Straits of the Helleſpont.—Greek Colonies.

BYZANTIUM, anciently founded by the Megareans[u], and ſucceſſively rebuilt by the Mileſians[x], and other nations of Greece[y], is ſituated on a promontory nearly of a triangular form. Never was there a happier or more majeſtic ſituation. The eye, while glancing over the horizon, repoſes to the right, on the ſea called the Propontis; oppoſite, and beyond a narrow channel, on the cities of Chalcedon and Chryſopolis; then on the ſtrait of the Boſphorus; and laſtly, on fertile eminences, and a gulph which ſerves by way of harbour, and retreats to the depth of ſixty ſtadia[z] within the land*.

On the point of the promontory ſtands the citadel. The walls of the city are built of huge ſquare ſtones, ſo jointed as apparently to form only

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[u] Steph. in Βυζάν. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 804.
[x] Vell. Paterc. lib. 2, cap. 15.
[y] Amm. Marcell. lib. 22, cap. 8, p. 308. Juſtin. lib. 9, cap. 1.
[z] Strab. lib. 7, p. 320.
* 2¼ leagues.

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a ſingle block[a]: they are much loftier on the land-ſide than towards the water, being naturally defended by the waves, and in ſome places by the rocks they are built on, which project into the ſea[b].

In this city, beſides a gymnaſium[c], and ſeveral kinds of public edifices, we meet with all the conveniences a rich and numerous people are able to procure[d]. They aſſemble in a forum, ſpacious enough to contain a ſmall army ranged in order of battle[e]. There they confirm or reject the decrees of a ſenate more enlightened than themſelves[f]. This abſurdity has ſtruck me in ſeveral of the Grecian cities, and has often made me recollect the ſaying of Anacharſis to Solon: "With "you, it is the ſages who diſcuſs, and the ignorant "who decide[g]."

The territory of Byzantium produces an abundance of grain and fruits[h], but is expoſed to the too frequent incurſions of the Thracians, who inhabit the adjoining villages[i]. A ſurpriſing quan-

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[a] Dio. Hiſt. Rom. lib. 74, p. 1251. Herodian. lib. 3, in init.
[b] Dio. ibid. Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7, p. 395.
[c] Ariſt. de Cur. Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 502.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 190.
[e] Xenoph. ibid. Zozim. lib. 2, p. 687.
[f] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 487.
[g] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 81.
[h] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 313. Herodian. lib. 3, in init. Tacit. Annal. lib. 12, cap. 63.
[i] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. p. 398. Polyb. ibid.

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tity of fish is caught in the harbour itself [k], in autumn, when they descend from the Euxine into the lower seas; and, in spring, in their return to the Pontus [l]. This fishery, and the curing of the fish, produce great sums to the revenues of the city [m], which is crowded likewise with merchants, and supported by an active and flourishing commerce. Its port, sheltered on every side from tempests, attracts thither the vessels of all the Grecian nations; and its situation at the head of the strait enables it to stop or subject to heavy duties the foreign merchants who trade in the Euxine [n], and to famish the nations who draw from it their subsistence. Hence the constant endeavours of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to engage this city in their interests. Byzantium was now in alliance with the former [o].

Cleomedes had taken in salt provisions at Panticapæum [p]; but as those of Byzantium are in higher estimation [q], he there completed his stock; and, after finishing his affairs, we left the harbour, and entered the Propontis. The breadth of this sea [r] is

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[k] Strab. lib. 7, p. 320. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 25, p. 116. Pet. Gill. Præf. ad Urb. Descrip.

[l] Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. 6, cap. 17, t. i. p. 874; lib. 8, cap. 19, t. i. p. 913. Plin. lib. 9, cap. 15, t. i. p. 507. Tacit. Annal. lib. 12, cap. 63.

[m] Arist. de Cur. Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 502.

[n] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 549. Ib. in Polycl. p. 1084. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4, p. 542.

[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 412.

[p] Demosth. in Laer. p. 953.

[q] Athen. lib. 3, p. 117 et 120.

[r] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 86.

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ſaid to be five hundred ſtadia*, and its length fourteen hundred†. On its ſhores ſtand ſeveral celebrated cities, founded or conquered by the Greeks; on the one ſide, Selymbria, Perinthus, and Byzanthus; on the other, Aſtacus in Bithynia, and Cyſicus in Myſia.

The ſeas we had viſited preſented on their coaſts ſeveral ſettlements formed by the nations of Greece. I was to meet with others in the Helleſpont, and doubtleſs alſo in ſtill more diſtant ſeas. What were the motives of theſe emigrations? Whither were they directed? Have the colonies preſerved any connections with the mother countries? Cleomedes laid before me ſeveral maps, and Timagenes loſt no time in anſwering my queſtions.

Greece, ſaid he, is a peninſula bounded on the weſt by the Ionian, and on the eaſt by the Ægean ſea. It compriſes at preſent Peloponneſus, Attica, Phocis, Bœotia, Theſſaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, part of Epirus, and ſome other ſmall provinces. There, among other flouriſhing cities, we diſtinguiſh Lacedæmon, Corinth, Athens and Thebes.

This country is of a very moderate extent‡, generally ſterile, and almoſt every where mountainous. The ſavages, who were its ancient inhabitants, aſſembled together from neceſſity, and at length ſpread

* Near 19 leagues.
† Near 53 leagues.
‡ About 1900 ſquare leagues.

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themſelves over different diſtricts. Let us take a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of our poſſeſſions.

To the weſt, we occupy the neighbouring iſlands, as Zacynthus, Cephalenia, and Corcyra: we have even ſome ſettlements on the coaſts of Illyria. Further on, we have formed numerous and powerful ſtates on the coaſts of the ſouthern part of Italy, and in almoſt all Sicily. Still farther you will find, in the country of the Gauls, Marſeilles, founded by the Phocians, the mother of ſeveral colonies eſtabliſhed on the adjacent coaſts; Marſeilles, who may pride herſelf in having inſtituted ſage laws, conquered the Carthaginians[a], and made the ſciences and arts of Greece flouriſh in a barbarous country.

In Africa, the opulent city of Cyrene, the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, and Naucratis ſituated on one of the mouths of the Nile, are under our dominion.

Returning towards the north, you will find us in poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole iſland of Cyprus, the iſles of Rhodes and Crete, thoſe of the Ægean ſea, great part of the coaſts of Aſia oppoſite to thoſe iſlands, the iſles of the Helleſpont, and ſeveral diſtricts on the ſhores of the Propontis and the Euxine.

As a natural conſequence of their ſituation, the Athenian colonies directed their courſe towards the

[a] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 13.

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east, as those of Peloponnesus did towards the west of Greece[t]. The inhabitants of Ionia and several islands of the Ægean sea are of Athenian origin. Many cities were founded by the Corinthians in Sicily, and by the Lacedæmonians in Græcia Magna.

The excess of population in a district, the ambition of the chiefs[u], the love of liberty among the private citizens, contagious and frequent maladies, false predictions of the oracles, and rash vows, gave rise to many of these emigrations; those of a more recent date originated in commercial and political views. All these motives have contributed to add new countries to Greece, and introduced the laws of nature and of sentiment into the public code[x].

The ties by which children are bound to those who gave them birth, still subsist between the colonies and the cities that founded them[y]. Considered in their various relations, they assume the endearing and respectable names of daughter, sister, and mother, and their reciprocal alliances arise from these respective titles[z].

It is the natural duty of the mother country to

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[t] Id. ibid. cap. 12.

[u] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 42.

[x] Bougainv. Dissert. sur les Metr. et les Col. p. 18. Spanh. de Præst. Num. p. 580. Ste. Croix, de l'Etat des Colonies des anciens Peuples, p. 65.

[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 754.

[z] Spanh. ibid. p. 575.

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protect her colonies, which, on their ſide, think themſelves called upon to fly to her ſuccour whenever ſhe is attacked. From her it is that they frequently receive their prieſts, their magiſtrates [a], and generals; they adopt or retain her laws and cuſtoms, and the worſhip of her gods, and ſend annually to her temples the firſt fruits of their harveſts. Her citizens, when among them, receive the firſt portion in the diſtribution of the victims, and are honoured with the moſt diſtinguiſhed places at the public games and aſſemblies of the people [b].

Nor do ſo many prerogatives granted to the mother city, render her authority odious. The colonies are as free in their dependence, as children in the homage they pay to parents worthy of their affection. Such at leaſt is the ſpirit which ſhould animate the greater part of the cities of Greece, and induce them to conſider Athens, Lacedæmon and Corinth, as the mothers or ſources of three numerous families diſperſed over three different quarters of the world. But the ſame cauſes that extinguiſh the ſentiments of nature among individuals, produce daily diſſenſions in theſe families of cities; and the real or apparent violation of their mutual duties has but too often furniſhed the pretext, or motive, of thoſe wars which have convulſed Greece [c].

[a] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 56.
[b] Spanh. de Præſt. Num. p. 580. Bougainv. ibid. p. 36.
[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 754.

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The laws I have mentioned are obligatory only on ſuch colonies as have emigrated by order, or with the permiſſion, of the mother country; the others, and eſpecially thoſe in a remote ſituation, confine themſelves to an affectionate remembrance of the places whence they derived their origin. Generally ſpeaking, the former are no more than uſeful or neceſſary marts for the commerce of the mother country; and the coloniſts eſteem themſelves ſufficiently fortunate, when the native inhabitants whom they have driven back into the country ſuffer them to remain quiet, or conſent to barter with them for their merchandize. Here, for example, the Greeks are ſettled on the ſea coaſts: beyond them, on the right, they poſſeſs the fertile plains of Thrace, and on the left the confines of the vaſt empire of the Perſians, inhabited by the Bithynians and Myſians. The poſſeſſions of the latter extend along the Helleſpont, which we are now about to enter *.

This was the third ſtrait I had met with in my voyage from Scythia. It is four hundred ſtadia[d] † in length, and we ſoon paſſed through it. The wind was favourable and the current rapid. The banks of this river, for ſo we may call this arm of the ſea, are interſected by riſing grounds, and

* See map of the Helleſpont.
[d] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 85.
† 15⅛ leagues.

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covered with towns and villages. On one ſide we diſcovered the city of Lampſacus, whoſe territory is celebrated for its vineyards [e]; on the other, the mouth of a ſmall river called Ægos-Potamos, where Lyſander gained the celebrated victory that terminated the Peloponneſian war. Further on, are the cities of Seſtos and Abydos, almoſt oppoſite to each other. Near the former, ſtands the tower of Hero [f]. At this place, as I was informed, one of the young prieſteſſes of Venus threw herſelf into the waves, which had ſwallowed up her lover Leander, who to viſit her was obliged to ſwim over the channel [g].

Here I was told that the ſtrait was only ſeven ſtadia in breadth [h]. Xerxes croſſed the ſea at this place over a double bridge of boats, at the head of the moſt formidable army that had ever invaded a country, and ſoon after repaſſed it in a fiſherman's boat. On this ſide is the tomb of Hecuba, on the other that of Ajax; here the harbour whence the fleet of Agamemnon ſet ſail for Aſia, and there the coaſts of the kingdom of Priam.

We were now at the extremity of the ſtrait. Full of Homer, and animated by all his poetic paſſions, I eagerly entreated to be ſet on ſhore. I

[e] Strab. lib. 13, p. 589.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 591.
[g] Mela, lib. 1, cap. 19; lib. 2. cap. 2. Virg. Georg. lib. 3, v. 258. Ovid. Amor. lib. 2. eleg. 16. v. 31.
[h] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 85.

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leaped on the land, and beheld Vulcan darting whirlwinds of fire on the foaming waves of the Scamander raging againſt Achilles. I approached the gates of the city, and my heart was rent with the tender parting of Andromache and Hector. I ſaw Paris adjudge the prize of beauty, on Mount Ida, to the mother of Love. I beheld Juno arrive there; the earth ſmiled at her preſence, and flowers ſprang up beneath her ſteps. She wore the girdle of Venus, and never had ſhe a juſter claim to the title of queen of the gods.

So pleaſing an illuſion was but of ſhort duration, and I was unable to diſcover the places immortaliſed by the poems of Homer. Not a veſtige of the city of Troy is now remaining; even her ruins have diſappeared [i]. Earthquakes and accumulations of ſoil have changed the whole face of this country [k].

I returned to the veſſel, and my heart beat with joy on learning that we were near the end of our voyage, being now in the Ægean ſea, and that the next day we ſhould be at Mytilene, one of the principal cities of Leſbos.

We left the iſles of Imbros, Samothrace and Thaſos on the right: the latter of theſe is famous for its gold mines [l], and the ſecond celebrated

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[i] Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 9, v. 969.

[k] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 10. Strab. lib. 1, p. 58. Wood, Eſſay on the Orig. &c. p. 308.

[l] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 46.

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for its ſacred myſteries. Towards the evening we perceived, in the quarter of Lemnos which we had diſcovered to the weſtward, volumes of flame riſing up at intervals into the air. I was told that theſe proceeded from the ſummit of a mountain [m], that the iſland was full of ſubterraneous fires, that ſeveral ſprings of hot water were found there [n], and that the ancient Greeks did not attribute theſe phenomena to natural cauſes. Vulcan, ſaid they, has ſet up one of his furnaces in Lemnos, where the Cyclops are employed in forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter. The people imagine the noiſe that ſometimes accompanies the eruption of the flames, to be occaſioned by the ſtrokes of the hammer.

About the middle of the night we coaſted along the iſle of Tenedos, and at day-break entered the channel that ſeparates Leſbos from the neighbouring continent [o]. Soon after we arrived oppoſite to Mytilene, and ſaw a proceſſion in the country ſlowly advancing towards a temple which we diſcovered in the back ground. This was the temple of Apollo, whoſe feſtival they were celebrating [p]. Sonorous voices made the air re-echo with their ſongs. The day was ſerene, and a gentle zephyr

[m] Boch. Geog. Sacr. lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 399.
[n] Euſt. in Iliad. lib. 1, p. 157.
[o] Voy. de Tournef. t. i. p. 392.
[p] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 3.

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playing in our ſails. Delighted with this ſcene, I did not obſerve that we were in the harbour. Cleomedes found his friends and relations on the ſhore, who received him with tranſports of joy. With them were aſſembled a multitude of ſailors and workmen, who all fixed their eyes on me, demanding with a turbulent curioſity who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going. We took up our lodgings with Cleomedes, who undertook to procure us a conveyance to the continent of Greece.

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CHAP. III.

Deſcription of Leſbos—Pittacus—Alcæus—Sappho.

NOTWITHSTANDING the impatience of Timagenes to reviſit his native country, we waited near a month for the departure of a veſſel to convey us to Chalcis, the capital of Eubæa. This interval I employed in obtaining information reſpecting every intereſting object of the country.

Leſbos is eſtimated to be eleven hundred ſtadia [q] in circumference [*]. The iſland, eſpecially in the eaſtern and weſtern parts, is interſected by chains of mountains and riſing grounds; ſome covered with vines, others with beech, cypreſs, and pine-trees [r]. Many of the hills abound with an ordinary and little eſteemed marble [s]. The intermediate plains produce a great quantity of corn [t]. In ſeveral

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[q] Strab. lib. 13, p. 617.

[*] Above 41 leagues.

[r] Bened. Bondone Iſolario, lib. 2, p. 58. Porcachi Iſole piu famoſ. lib. 2, p. 128. Rich. Pocock. Deſcription of the Eaſt, t. ii. part ii. p. 16.

[s] Plin. lib. 36, cap. 6, t. ii. p. 731.

[t] Pocock. Deſcription of the Eaſt, t. ii. p. 20.

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places we meet with hot ſprings [x], agates, and different kinds of precious ſtones [z], and almoſt every where with the myrtle, olive, and fig-tree; but the principal riches of the inhabitants conſiſt in their wines, which in many countries are preferred to thoſe of Greece [y].

Nature has formed bays along the coaſt, around which cities have ariſen which are now fortified by art, and rendered flouriſhing by commerce. Such are Mytilene, Pyrrha, Methymna, Ariſba, Ereſſus, and Antiſſa [a], whoſe whole hiſtory is a continued ſeries of revolutions. After alternately experiencing the bleſſings of liberty, and the wretchedneſs of ſervitude, they ſhook off the Perſian yoke in the time of Xerxes, and more than once detached themſelves from the alliance of the Athenians during the Peloponneſian war [b], though they have been conſtantly compelled to return to it, and remain at this day members of that union. One of theſe defections was attended with conſequences as fatal, as the cauſe from which it proceeded was trivial.

One of the chief citizens of Mytilene, failing in his attempt to obtain two wealthy heireſſes for his

[x] Pocock. Deſcription of the Eaſt, t. ii. p. 20.
[z] Plin. lib. 37, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 787, et 792.
[y] Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 1, c. 22, p. 28. Archeſt. ap. eund. lib. 1, cap. 23, p. 29. Id. lib. 3, p. 92. Plin. lib. 14, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 717. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12, cap. 31.
[a] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 151. Strab. lib. 13, p. 618.
[b] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 2.

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ſons, contrived to ſow diſſenſion among the inhabitants of the city, accuſed them of an intention to join the Lacedæmonians, and was ſo ſucceſsful in his intrigues as to induce Athens to ſend a fleet to Leſbos to prevent and puniſh the defection [b]. In vain did all the adjoining cities, except Methymna, take up arms in defence of their ally. They were ſoon reduced by the Athenians, who took Mytilene, razed her walls, ſeized on her ſhips, and put to death the principal inhabitants, to the number of one thouſand [c]. The territory of Methymna alone was ſpared; the remainder of the iſland was divided into three thouſand portions, three hundred of which were conſecrated to the worſhip of the gods, and the others drawn for by lot by the Athenians, who, unable themſelves to cultivate them, farmed them out to the ancient proprietors, at two minæ each portion; which brought in an annual revenue of ninety talents * for the new poſſeſſors.

Since that fatal period, Mytilene, after repairing her loſſes and rebuilding her walls [d], has attained the ſame degree of ſplendour ſhe enjoyed for many ages [e]. The extent of ground ſhe occupies, the beauty of her edifices, the number and opulence

[b] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 390.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 3, c. 50. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, t. ii. p. 108.
* 486,000 livres (£20,250).
[d] Diod. lib. 17, t. ii. p. 509.
[e] Plin. lib. 5, t. i. p. 288.

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of her inhabitants[f], entitle her to the name of the capital of Leſbos. The ancient town, built in a ſmall iſland, is ſeparated from the modern city by an arm of the ſea[g]. The latter extends along the ſhore, in a plain bounded by hills covered with vines and olive-trees[h], beyond which is a very fertile and very populous country. But however fortunate the poſition of Mytilene may appear, it is incommoded by prevailing winds, which ſometimes render it almoſt inſupportable. The ſoutherly winds, and thoſe of the north-weſt, are the cauſe of various diſorders, whilſt the northern gales, which bring their cure, are ſo cold, that when they blow it is difficult to remain in the ſtreets and open places[i]. The commerce of Mytilene attracts a number of foreign veſſels into her harbours; one of which is ſituated to the north, the other to the ſouthward of the city. The former, which is more ſpacious and deeper than the latter, is ſheltered from the fury of the winds and waves by a kind of mole of huge rocks[k].

Leſbos is the abode of pleaſure, or rather of the moſt unreſtrained licentiouſneſs[l]. The inhabi-

[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 445. Strab. lib. 13, p. 616, et 617. Cicer. de Leg. Agr. orat. 2, cap. 16, t. v. p. 119.
[g] Diod. lib. 13, t. ii. p. 201.
[h] Long. Paſtor. lib. 1, in init. Pococke, t. ii. part 2, p. 15.
[i] Vitruv. lib. 1, cap. 6.
[k] Diod. lib. 13, t. ii. p. 200. Strab. lib. 13, p. 617. Pococke, t. ii. part 2, p. 15.
[l] Athen. lib. 10, p. 438. Lucian, dialog. 5, p. 289, t. iii.

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tants relax their principles of morality as occaſion may require, and adapt themſelves to circumſtances with as much facility as they open or ſhut certain leaden rules made uſe of by their architects[m] *. Nothing in all my travels ſurpriſed me more than ſuch a diſſoluteneſs of manners, and the change it effected in my mind. I had imbibed the impreſſions of infancy without examination; and my reaſon, formed on the authority and example of that of others, found itſelf ſuddenly at a loſs amongſt a more enlightened people. I found in this new world a freedom of ideas and ſentiments which at firſt gave me pain. But the men inſenſibly taught me to bluſh at my ſobriety, and the women at my reſerve. My progreſs in politeneſs of manners and of language was leſs rapid. I was like a tree tranſplanted from a foreſt into a garden, whoſe branches it is a work of time to bend to the fancy of the gardener.

During this courſe of education, I paid particular attention to the celebrated perſonages whom Leſbos has produced, and at the head of the moſt diſtinguiſhed names ſhall place that of Pittacus, ranked by Greece among the number of her ſages[n].

The lapſe of more than two centuries ſince his

[m] Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 5, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 72.

* Theſe rules ſerved to meaſure all ſorts of plane and curve ſurfaces.

[n] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343; et alii.

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death has only added new luſtre to his glory. By his valour and his prudence he reſcued Mytilene, his country, from the tyrants who had enſlaved her, the war ſhe had engaged in againſt the Athenians, and the inteſtine diviſions to which ſhe was a prey [o]. When the ſovereign power of the city and of the whole iſland was entruſted to him, his only view in accepting it was to reſtore peace to his country, and give her thoſe laws of which ſhe ſtood in need [p]. One of theſe merits the attention of philoſophers [q]: I mean the law that inflicts a double puniſhment on crimes committed in inxoxication. Though apparently not proportioned to the offence, it was neceſſary to deſtroy the plea of ignorance in the exceſſes to which the love of wine hurried the Leſbians. Having finiſhed his work of legiſlation, Pittacus reſolved to dedicate the remainder of his life to the ſtudy of wiſdom [r], and abdicated without oſtentation the ſovereign power. When aſked his reaſon, he replied, "I was ter-"rified at ſeeing Periander of Corinth become the "tyrant, after he had been the father of his ſub-"jects [s]. It is too difficult to be always virtuous [t]."

[o] Diod. Excerpt. p. 234, in excerpt. Valeſ. Strab. l. 13, p. 600. Plut. de Malign. Herod. t. ii. p. 858. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1, cap. 25.

[p] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 357. Laert. lib. 1, §75.

[q] Ariſt. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 337. Id. de Mor. lib. 3, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 34. Id. Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 25, t. ii. p. 582. Laert. ibid. § 76, t. i.

[r] Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. ii. p. 281. Laert. ibid. § 75.

[s] Zenob. cent. 6, prov. 38.

[t] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 339.

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Muſic and poetry have made ſo great a progreſs at Leſbos, that, though the language ſpoken there be not ſo pure as at Athens [a], the Greeks ſtill continue to ſay that the Muſes make the air re-echo with their lamentations at the funerals of the Leſbians [z]. This iſland poſſeſſes a ſchool of muſic, which, if we credit a tradition I learnt at Methymna, dates its origin in the moſt remote ages. I am almoſt aſhamed to repeat it. Yet, to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greeks, it is not improper ſometimes to conſider the fictions with which their annals are embelliſhed or diſfigured: for, from the hiſtory of this people, we learn the true character of their paſſions; and from their fables that of their genius.

Orpheus, whoſe ſongs wrought ſo many prodigies, having been torn to pieces by the Bacchantes, his head and lyre were thrown into the Hebrus, a river of Thrace, and conveyed by the waves of the ſea to the ſhores of Methymna [y]. In its paſſage the voice of Orpheus ſent forth enchanting ſounds, accompanied by the lyre, the ſtrings of which were gently agitated by the wind [z]. The Methymnians buried the head in a place which they ſhewed me, and hung up the lyre in the

[a] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 341.

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 338.

[y] Ovid. Metam. lib. 2. v. 55. Phylarg. in Georg. Virg. lib. 4, v. 523. Euſtat. in Dionyſ. v. 536.

[z] Lucian. Adv. Indoct. t. iii. p. 109.

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temple of Apollo. As a recompence, the god inſpired them with a taſte for muſic, and rendered the iſland fertile in genius [a]. Whilſt the prieſt of Apollo was giving me this detail, a citizen of Methymna obſerved that the Muſes had interred the body of Orpheus in a diſtrict of Thrace [b], and that in the neighbourhood of his tomb the ſong of the nightingale was more melodious than in any other country [c].

Leſbos has produced a ſucceſſion of men of genius, who have tranſmitted to each other the honour of excelling all the other muſicians of Greece in the art of playing on the Cithara [d]. The names of Arion of Methymna, and Terpander of Antiſſa, are an ornament to this numerous liſt.

The former, who lived about three hundred years ſince [e], has left a collection of poems [f], which he ſang accompanied by his lyre, as was then the practice with all the poets. After inventing, or at leaſt improving dithyrambics [g], a ſpecies of poetry of which I ſhall ſpeak further hereafter, he adapted them to circular dances [h], a cuſtom ſtill prevalent in our days. Periander, tyrant of Corinth, long detained him in that city, which he left to go into

[a] Hygin. Aſtron. Poet. lib. 2, cap. 7.
[b] Id. ibid.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 9, p. 769.
[d] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1133.
[e] Solin. cap. 7.
[f] Suid. in Ἀρίων.
[g] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 23. Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 13, v. 25.
[h] Hellan. et Dicæar. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in av. v. 1403.

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Sicily, where he gained the prize in a musical competition[i]. Embarking next for Tarentum, in a Corinthian vessel, the sailors determined to throw him into the sea, to get possession of his property; but after endeavouring in vain to move them by the harmony of his voice and lyre, he plunged into it himself[k]. A dolphin, of greater sensibility than the inexorable mariners, conveyed him, it is said, to the promontory of Tænarus: a kind of prodigy, the possibility of which they endeavoured to prove to me by reasons and examples. The fact, attested by Arion in one of his hymns[l], and preserved in the tradition of the Lesbians, was confirmed to me at Corinth, where it was added that Periander put the sailors to death[m]. I myself saw at Tænarus[n], on the Helicon[o], and at other places, the statue of this poet, who is always represented on a dolphin. We may add, that dolphins not only appear sensible to music[p], capable of gratitude, and friendly to man[q]; but that they have more than once repeated the affecting scene I have

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[i] Solin. cap. 7.

[k] Herodot. ibid. cap. 24. Oppian. Halieut. lib. 5, v. 450. Plin. lib. 9, cap. 8, t. i. p. 502. Solin. cap. 12.

[l] Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. 12, cap. 45.

[m] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 24.

[n] Id. ibid. Dion. Chrysost. orat. 37, p. 455. Gell. lib. 16, cap. 19.

[o] Pausan. lib. 9, cap. 30, p. 767.

[p] Arion. ap. Ælian. ibid. Plin. lib. 9, cap. 8, t. i. p. 502.

[q] Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. 9, cap. 48, t. i. p. 954. Ælian. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 15.

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been mentioning[r]. They ſaved from ſhipwreck Taras, the founder of Tarentum; and Ariſtotle[s] made me remark, one day, that the inhabitants of that city had preſerved the memory of this fact upon their coin [*].

Terpander[t] lived nearly at the ſame time with Arion. He more than once carried off the prize at the public games of Greece[u]; but his real victories were his diſcoveries. He added three ſtrings to the lyre, which till his time had only four[x]; compoſed airs for various inſtruments, which were conſidered as models[y]; invented ſeveral new ſpecies of poetical metre[z]; and introduced an action, and conſequently an intereſt, into the hymns written for the prize in muſical competitions[a]. Thanks are due to him likewiſe for having fixed by notes the meaſure proper for the poetry of Homer[b]. The Lacedæmonians ſtyle him, by way of excellence, the Leſbian ſongſter[c]; and the

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[r] Plin. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 13, p. 831. Ariſt. ap. Poll. lib. 9, cap. 6, § 80.

[*] The medals of Tarentum have in fact the figure of a man ſeated on a dolphin, holding in his hands a lyre.

[t] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 234. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. x. p. 213.

[u] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1132. Athen. lib. 14, cap. 4, p. 635.

[x] Terp. ap. Eucl. Introd. Harmon. p. 19; in Autor. Antiq. Muſ. t. i. Strab. lib. 13, p. 618.

[y] Plut. ibid. Marm. Oxon. epoch. 35.

[z] Plut. ibid. p. 1135.

[a] Poll. lib. 4, cap. 9, § 66.

[b] Plut. ibid. p. 1132.

[c] Id. de Ser. Num. Vind. t. ii. p. 558.

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other Greeks hold him in that high eſteem with which they never fail to honour thoſe talents which contribute to their pleaſures.

About fifty years after Terpander, Alcæus and Sappho, who both are entitled to a place in the firſt claſs of lyric poets, flouriſhed at Mytilene. Alcæus[d] was born with a reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition, and ſeemed at firſt inclined to adopt the profeſſion of arms, which he preferred to every other purſuit. His houſe was filled with ſwords, helmets, ſhields, and cuiraſſes[e]; but on his firſt eſſay in the field he ſhamefully fled, and the Athenians, after their victory, branded him with diſgrace, by ſuſpending his arms in the temple of Minerva at Sigæum[f]. He made great pretenſions to the love of liberty; but was ſuſpected of harbouring a ſecret wiſh for its deſtruction[g]. With his brothers, he firſt joined Pittacus, to expel Melanchrus, tyrant of Mytilene[h], and then took part with the malecontents to ſubvert the government of Pittacus. The violence and indecency of the abuſe he laviſhed on that prince[i] evinced nothing but his jealouſy. Baniſhed from Mytilene, he ſome time after returned at the head of the exiles[k], and fell

[d] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 563.
[e] Alcm. ap. Athen. lib. 14, p. 627.
[f] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 95.
[g] Strab. lib. 13, p. 617.
[h] Laert. lib. 1, § 74.
[i] Id. ibid. § 81. Menag. Not. in Laert.
[k] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 14.

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into the hands of his rival, who took the nobleſt revenge by pardoning him [l].

Poetry, love and wine, conſoled him for his diſgrace. His early writings were filled with invectives againſt tyranny; he now ſang the gods [m], and above all the deities who preſide over pleaſures [n]; he ſang his loves, his warlike labours, his travels, and the miſeries of baniſhment [o]. His genius required to be ſtimulated by intemperance [p]; and it was in a kind of intoxication that he compoſed thoſe works that have acquired him the admiration of poſterity [q]. His ſtyle, uniformly adapted to his ſubject, has no other defects but what ariſe from the language ſpoken at Leſbos. He unites harmony with vigour, and richneſs with preciſion and perſpicuity. He ſoars almoſt to the height of Homer, when he deſcribes battles, or would make a tyrant tremble [r].

Alcæus had conceived a paſſion for Sappho, and he one day wrote to her: "I wiſh to explain myſelf, but ſhame reſtrains me." "Your forehead would not bluſh," anſwered ſhe, "were not your heart culpable [s]."

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[l] Laert. ibid. § 76.
[m] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 563.
[n] Horat. lib. 1, od. 32.
[o] Alcæi Carm. Horat. lib. 2, od. 13.
[p] Athen. lib. 10, cap. 7, p. 429.
[q] Dion. Halicar. de Struct. Orat. t. v. p. 187.
[r] Id. de Cenſ. Vet. Script. t. v. p. 421. Quintil. lib. 10, cap. 1. p. 631.
[s] Ariſt. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 531.

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Sappho was accuſtomed to ſay: "I am actuated by the love of pleaſures and of virtue [t]. Without virtue nothing is ſo dangerous as riches, and happineſs conſiſts in the union of both [u]." She uſed likewiſe to ſay: "This perſon is diſtinguiſhed by his figure; that by his virtues; the one appears beautiful at a firſt view, the other not leſs ſo at a ſecond [x]."

I was one day repeating theſe and many ſimilar expreſſions to a citizen of Mytilene, and added: "The figure of Sappho is ſeen upon your coins [y], and you profeſs the higheſt veneration for her memory [z]. How is it poſſible to conciliate the ſentiments ſhe has left us in her writings, and the honours you publicly decree her, with the infamous manners with which ſhe is privately reproached?" He anſwered me, "We are not ſufficiently acquainted with particulars to form a competent judgment of her life *. Strictly ſpeaking, no concluſion can be drawn in her favour from the love ſhe profeſſes for virtue, nor from the honours we pay to her talents. When I read ſome of her works, I dare

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[t] Sapph. ap. Athen. lib. 15, p. 687.

[u] Eadem apud Schol. Pindar. Olympiad. 2, v. 96; et Pyth. 5, v. 1.

[x] Eadem in Fragm. Chriſt. Wolf. p. 72.

[y] Poll. Onom. lib. 9, cap. 6, § 84.

[z] Ariſt. Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 23, t. ii. p. 576.

* It muſt be obſerved, that every thing relative to the diſſolute manners of Sappho, is to be found only in authors greatly poſterior to the time in which ſhe lived.

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not acquit her; but she had merit and enemies, and I dare not condemn her.

After the death of her husband, she devoted her leisure hours to letters, and undertook to inspire the Lesbian women with a taste for literature[a]. Many of them received instructions from her, and foreign women increased the number of her disciples. She loved them to excess, because it was impossible for her to love otherwise, and she expressed her tenderness with all the violence of passion. Your surprise at this will cease, when you become better acquainted with the extreme sensibility of the Greeks, and discover that amongst them the most innocent connections often borrow the impassioned language of love. Read the dialogues of Plato, you will there see in what terms Socrates speaks of the beauty of his pupils[b]. Yet no person knew better than Plato how pure the intentions of his master were. Nor was there less purity perhaps in those of Sappho. But a certain facility of manners she possessed, and the warmth of her expressions, were but too well calculated to expose her to the hatred of some women of distinction, humbled by her superiority, and of the jealousy of some of her disciples who happened not to be the objects of her preference. To this hatred, which broke forth into violence, she re-

[a] Suid. in Sapph.
[b] Plat. in Phædr. Maxim. Tyr. dissert. 24, § 9, p. 297.

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plied by truths and irony [c], which completely exasperated her enemies. She then complained of their persecutions [d], and this was a new crime. Compelled at length to fly *, she repaired to Sicily in search of an asylum [e], where, as I am told, it is intended [f] to erect a statue to her †. If the rumours you speak of are, as I believe them to be, without foundation, we may learn from her example, that great indiscretions are sufficient to tarnish the reputation of every person exposed to the eye of the public and posterity.

The sensibility of Sappho was extreme." "She was then exceedingly unhappy," said I. "Undoubtedly she was," replied he. "She loved Phaon, who forsook her [g]. After various attempts to bring him back, despairing henceforward of happiness either with him or without him, she took the leap of Leucata, and perished in the waves [h]. Death has not effaced the stain imprinted on her character, and perhaps, added he, concluding his discourse, it will never be obliterated; for envy, which fastens

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[c] Athen. lib. 1, p. 21. Sapph. ap. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 146; apud Stob. de Imprud. serm. 4, p. 52.

[d] Horat. lib. 2, od. 13.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[e] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 37.

[f] Cicer. in Verr. lib. 4, cap. 57, t. iv. p. 402.

† This statue was erected some years after. It was sculptured by Silanion, one of the most celebrated artists of his time. Cicer. ibid. Tatian. ad Græc. cap. 52, p. 113.

[g] Athen. lib. 13, p. 596. Plin. lib. 22, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 269. Ovid. Heroid. ep. 15, t. i. p. 195.

[h] Men. ap. Strab. lib. 10, p. 452.

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on illuſtrious names, does indeed expire, but bequeaths her aſperſions to that calumny which never dies.

Sappho has compoſed hymns, odes, elegies, and a number of other pieces, principally in a kind of metre of which ſhe was herſelf the inventreſs[i]: all of theſe abound in various novel and happy expreſſions with which ſhe has enriched the language[k].

Several of the Grecian women have cultivated poetry with ſucceſs, but none have hitherto attained to the excellence of Sappho[l], and among the other poets there are few indeed who have ſurpaſſed her. What an attention does ſhe diſplay in the ſelection of her words and ſubjects! She has painted all the moſt pleaſing objects in nature[m]. She has painted them in the moſt harmonizing colours, and ſo ſkilful is ſhe in their diſtribution, as always to produce the happieſt combination of light and ſhade[n]. Her taſte is tranſcendent even in the mechaniſm of her ſtyle, in which, by an addreſs which gives not the leaſt idea of labour, we meet with no diſſonant claſhings, no violent ſhocks between the elements of language; and the moſt delicate ear would ſcarcely

[i] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 590. Johan. Chriſtoph. Wolf. Vit. Sapph. p. 16, et 18.
[k] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. § 167.
[l] Strab. lib. 13, p. 617.
[m] Demetr. Phal. de Elocut. § 132.
[n] Dion. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. ſect. 23, p. 171.

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diſcover in a whole poem a few ſounds which it had been better to ſuppreſs [o]. So perfect is the raviſhing harmony of her ſtyle, that in the greateſt part of her productions her verſes flow with more grace and ſoftneſs than thoſe of Anacreon and Simonides.

But with what force of genius ſhe hurries us along when ſhe deſcribes the charms, the tranſports and intoxication of love! What ſcenery! what warmth of colouring! Agitated, like the Pythia by the inſpiring god, ſhe throws on the paper her words that burn [p]. Her ſentiments fall like a cloud of arrows, or a fiery ſhower about to conſume every thing. She animates and perſonifies all the ſymptoms of this paſſion, to excite the moſt powerful emotions in our ſouls [q].

It was at Mytilene that I traced out this feeble ſketch of the talents of Sappho, guided by the judgment of ſeveral perſons of information and abilities; it was in the ſilence of meditation, in one of thoſe beautiful nights ſo common in Greece, on hearing, under my windows, a melting voice, accompanied by the lyre, ſing an ode, in which that illuſtrious Leſbian abandons herſelf, without reſerve, to the impreſſion made by beauty on her too ſuſceptible heart. Methought I ſaw her languid, trembling, and as if thunderſtruck; deprived of

[o] Id. ibid. p. 180. Demetr. Phal. § 132. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397.
[p] Plut. Amat. t. ii. p. 763. Horat. lib. 4, od. 9, v. 11.
[q] Longin. de Subl. § 10.

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her understanding and her senses; alternately blushing and turning pale; yielding to the diversified and tumultuous emotions of her passion, or rather of all the jarring passions of her soul.

Such is the eloquence of sentiment. Never does it produce descriptions so sublime and of so astonishing an effect, as when it selects and blends together the leading circumstances of an interesting situation[r]; thus does it act on the heart in this little poem, of which I shall only give you the first stanzas.

Blest as th' immortal gods is he,
The youth who fondly sits by thee,
And hears and sees thee all the while
Softly speak and sweetly smile.

'Twas this depriv'd my soul of rest,
And rais'd such tumults in my breast;
For while I gaz'd, in transport toss't,
My breath was gone, my voice was lost;

My bosom glow'd; the subtle flame
Ran quick through all my vital frame;
O'er my dim eyes a darkness hung;
My ears with hollow murmurs rung.

In dewy damps my limbs were chill'd;
My blood with gentle horrors thrill'd;
My feeble pulse forgot to play;
I fainted, sunk, and died away *.

[r] Long. de Subl. § 10.
* See note at the end of the volume.

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CHAP. IV.

Departure from Mytilene.—Deſcription of Eubœa.—Arrival at Thebes.

THE next day they preſſed us to embark. The boat was faſtened to the veſſel [s], and the two rudders to each ſide of the ſtern [t]. The maſt was raiſed, the yard hoiſted, the ſails prepared, and every thing in readineſs. Twenty rowers, ten on each ſide [u], already had their hands upon the oars. We quitted Mytilene with regret. At leaving the harbour, the crew ſang hymns in honour of the gods, and with loud cries addreſſed them in vows to obtain a favourable wind [x].

When we had doubled Cape Malea, ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, we ſet our ſails. The rowers redoubled their exertions, and we flew over the ſurface of the water. Our veſſel, almoſt entirely built of fir [y], was of that kind

[s] Demoſth. in Zenoth. p. 929. Achill. Tat. de Clitoph. et Leucipp. Amor. lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 240.
[t] Scheff. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 146.
[u] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 949.
[x] Achill. Tat. lib. 2, cap. 32, p. 200.
[y] Theoph. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 8, p. 533.

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which make ſeventy thouſand orgyiæ * in a ſummer's day, and ſixty thouſand † in a night [a]. Some have been known to paſs rapidly, in four and twenty days, from the coldeſt regions to the hotteſt climates, ſailing in that time from the Palus Mæotis to Æthiopia [a].

We had a favourable paſſage, without any remarkable occurrences. Our tents were placed near the awning of the captain [b], who was named Phanes. Sometimes I liſtened from complaiſance to the narrative of his voyages, at others I took up my Homer, in whom I diſcovered new beauties. For it is in the countries which were the theatre of the events he has immortalized, that we beſt can judge of the accuracy of his deſcriptions and the truth of his colouring [c]. I took the greateſt delight in comparing his pictures with the real ſcenes of nature, without finding the merit of the copy in the leaſt impaired by compariſon with the original.

Meanwhile we began to diſcover the ſummit of a mountain called Ocha, which overtops every other in Eubœa [d]. The farther we advanced, the more did the iſland ſeem to lengthen from ſouth

* About 26 leagues and a half.
† About 22 leagues three quarters.
[a] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 86.
[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 3, p. 167.
[b] Scheff. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 137.
[c] Wood. Eſſay on the Original Genius of Homer.
[d] Strab. lib. 10, p. 445. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2, p. 280.

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to north. It extends, ſaid Phanes, the length of Attica, Bœotia, the country of the Locrians, and part of Theſſaly [e]; but its breadth is not proportioned to its length. The country is fertile, and produces a great quantity of corn, wine, oil, and fruits [f]. It poſſeſſes alſo copper and iron mines [g]. Our artiſts are very ſkilful in working theſe metals [h], and we pride ourſelves on having been the firſt to diſcover the uſe of the former [i]. In ſeveral places we have hot ſprings, uſeful in the cure of various diſorders [k]. But theſe advantages are compenſated by earthquakes, which have ſometimes ſwallowed up whole cities, and occaſioned the ſea to overflow large tracts of our coaſts, formerly covered with inhabitants [l].

The ſituation of the iſland, its excellent harbours, opulent cities, ſtrong fortreſſes [m], and rich harveſts which often furniſh Athens with proviſions, give reaſon to preſume that, if it fell into the hands of a ſovereign prince, it would eaſily hold in chains the neighbouring nations [n]. Our diviſions,

[e] Strab. lib. 10. p. 444.
[f] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 31.
[g] Strab. ibid. p. 447.
[h] Steph. in Αἶσηλ.
[i] Id. in Χαλκ. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2, p. 280.
[k] Steph. ibid. Strab. ibid. Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 8, t. i. p. 567. Plin. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. i. p. 211.
[l] Ariſt. Meteor. lib 2, cap. 8, t. i. p. 567. Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 89. Strab. lib. 10, p. 447.
[m] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.
[n] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 483. Ulpian. in Orat. ad Ariſtocr. p. 769. Polyb. lib. 17, p. 751.

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by ſecuring them from this danger, have often inſpired them with the deſire, and furniſhed them the means of reducing us to ſubjection[o]; but their jealouſy has reſtored to us our liberty[p]. Leſs the ſubjects than allies of the Athenians, we are permitted, in conſideration of a tribute[q], to enjoy our laws in peace, and the advantages of a democratical government. We may convoke general aſſemblies at Chalcis, and in theſe the claims and intereſts of our cities are diſcuſſed[r].

We had on board ſome inhabitants of Eubœa, whom commercial views had led to Mytilene, and who were now returning to their country. One of them was of Oreus, another of Caryſtus, and the third of Eretria. If the wind permits us, ſaid the firſt to me, to enter by the north into the channel between the iſland and the continent, we may ſtop at the firſt town you find on the left[s], which is Oreus, almoſt entirely peopled by Athenians. You will there ſee a very ſtrong place both from its poſition and the fortifications that defend it[t]. You will view a territory of which the vineyards were already celebrated in the days of Ho-

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[o] Demoſth. de Cor. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, cap. 7, p. 411.

[p] Demoſth. ibid. p. 489. Id. in Androt. p. 710. Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 441.

[q] Æſch. in Cteſ. p. 442, et 443.

[r] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 442, et 443.

[s] Liv. lib. 28, cap. 5.

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 349. Liv. lib. 31, cap. 46.

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mer [a].—If you enter the channel by the oppoſite ſide, ſaid the ſecond, I ſhall invite you to go on ſhore at the harbour of Caryſtus, which we ſhall find on the right. Your eye will be delighted with the view of a country abounding in paſture-grounds and flocks [x]. I will conduct you to the quarries of Mount Ocha. The marble dug from them is of a ſea-green, with veins of different colours, and is extremely proper for columns [y]. You will ſee likewiſe a kind of ſtone capable of being ſpun, and of which a kind of cloth is made, that ſo far from being conſumed by fire, is only cleanſed by it from all its ſtains [z].

Come with me to Eretria, ſaid the third. I will ſhew you pictures and ſtatues without number [a]; you ſhall ſee a monument ſtill more venerable, the foundations of our ancient walls, deſtroyed by the Perſians whom we had the courage to reſiſt [b]. A pillar, erected in one of our temples, will prove to you that, at a feſtival annually celebrated in honour of Diana [c], we formerly brought out three thouſand foot ſoldiers, ſix hundred horſe, and ſixty chariots [d]. He then expatiated with ſo

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[a] Iliad. lib. 2, v. 537.
[x] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2, p. 280.
[y] Strab. lib. 9, p. 437. Id. lib. 10, p. 446. Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 80, p. 664.
[z] Strab. lib. 10, p. 446.
[a] Liv. lib. 32, cap. 16.
[b] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 101. Strab. ibid. p. 448.
[c] Liv. lib. 35, cap. 38.
[d] Strab. ibid.

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much warmth on the former power of that city, and the rank ſtill held by it in Greece, that Phanes could not refrain from entering on the eulogium of Chalcis, and a warm diſpute quickly enſued, reſpecting the pre-eminence of theſe two cities.

Aſtoniſhed at the violence with which they contended, I ſaid to Timagenes: Do theſe people confound their poſſeſſions with their perſonal qualities? Have you elſewhere many examples of ſuch rivalſhip?—It ſubſiſts, anſwered he, between the moſt powerful nations, as well as the moſt inconſiderable hamlets. It is founded on nature, which, to ſet every thing on earth in motion, has judged proper to implant two propenſities in our hearts, the ſource of all our enjoyments, and of all our ſufferings: the one is the love of thoſe pleaſures that tend to the conſervation of our ſpecies; the other, the love of ſuperiority, which generates ambition and injuſtice, emulation and induſtry, without which men would neither have hewn the columns of Caryſtus, painted the pictures of Eretria, nor perhaps even planted the vineyards of Oreus.

At this moment, the Chalcidean ſaid to his adverſary: Recollect that you are ridiculed on the ſtage of Athens, where they laugh at that barbarous pronunciation you have brought from Elis [e].—

[e] Strab. lib. 10, p. 448. Heſych. in Ἐρέτρ. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2, p. 279.

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And have you forgotten, ſaid the Eretrian, that on the ſame ſtage they take rather more mortifying liberties with the avarice and depraved manners of the Chalcideans [f]?—But you will allow, ſaid the former, that Chalcis is one of the moſt ancient cities of Greece; Homer mentions it.—He ſpeaks of Eretria [g] in the ſame paſſage, replied the other.—We pride ourſelves on the colonies we formerly ſent into Thrace, Italy, and Sicily.—And we on thoſe we eſtabliſhed near Mount Athos [h].—Our anceſtors for ſome time groaned under the tyranny of the rich, and afterwards under that of a tyrant named Phoxus; but they had the courage to ſhake off the yoke and eſtabliſh a democracy [i].—Our fathers, in like manner, ſubſtituted a popular form of government for the ariſtocracy [k].—You ſhould not boaſt of that change, ſaid the Caryſtian; never were your cities ſo flouriſhing as under the adminiſtration of a ſmall number of citizens; for it was at that period that you ſent forth thoſe numerous colonies you have juſt mentioned.—They are both the more to blame, ſaid the inhabitant of Oreus, as the Chalcideans at this very day are cowardly enough to ſubmit to the tyranny of Mneſarchus, and the Eretrians to that

[f] Heſych. et Suid. in Χαλκ. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2, p. 279.
[g] Iliad. lib. 2, v. 538.
[h] Strab. lib. 10, p. 447. Euſtath. ibid.
[i] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 391.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 6, t. ii. p. 395.

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of Themiſon [l].—It is not that they want courage, replied Timagenes; both nations are brave, and they have always been ſo. Upon one occaſion, before they proceeded to blows, they regulated the conditions of the combat, agreeing to fight hand to hand, without making uſe of thoſe weapons which deſtroy at a diſtance. This extraordinary convention is engraven on a ſtone that I once ſaw in the temple of Diana, at Eretria [m]. The conſequence muſt have been a great effuſion of blood; but it was an efficacious method of terminating the war.

Among the advantages on which you plume yourſelves, ſaid I in my turn, there is one you have paſſed over in ſilence. Has Eubœa produced no philoſopher, no celebrated poet? How happens it that you have not imbibed a taſte for letters by your connections with the Athenians [n]? They ſtood motionleſs. The captain gave his orders to the crew. We doubled the ſouthern cape of the iſland, and entered a ſtrait, the ſhores of which were bordered on each ſide with towns of different ſizes, and, paſſing near the walls of Caryſtus and Eretria, we arrived at Chalcis.

This city is ſituated on a ſpot, where, by means of two promontories that project on both ſides,

[l] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 441.
[m] Strab. lib. 10, p. 448.
[n] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 20.

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the coaſts of the iſland almoſt touch thoſe of Bœotia[o]. This ſmall interval, which is called Euripus, is in part filled up by a dyke that Timagenes remembered to have ſeen conſtructed in his youth. On each end of it is a tower for its defence, and a drawbridge to let veſſels paſs[p]. Here we may more diſtinctly obſerve a phenomenon, the cauſe of which has never yet been diſcovered. Several times in the ſame day, and during the night, the waters of the ſea flow alternately to the north and ſouth, employing the ſame time to riſe and to decreaſe. On certain days the ebb and flow ſeem ſubjected to regular laws, like thoſe of the main ocean. But in an inſtant it departs from every rule[q], and the current is ſeen to change its direction every moment[r].

Chalcis is ſituated on the declivity of a hill of the ſame name[s]. Notwithſtanding the conſiderable extent of this city, they are ſtill propoſing to enlarge it[t]. Lofty trees, which grow in the public places and gardens[u], protect the inhabitants from the heat of the ſun, and a copious ſpring, called the Fountain of Arethuſa, affords them an

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[o] Strab. lib. 10, p. 445.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 173.
[q] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 90.
[r] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 162.
[s] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 19. Euſtat. in Iliad. 2, p. 279. Steph. in Χαλκ.
[t] Strab. lib. 10, p. 447.
[u] Dicæarch. ibid.

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ample ſupply of water [x]. The city is embelliſhed by a theatre, gymnaſia, porticos, temples, ſtatues, and paintings [y]. The excellence of its ſituation, its copper works [z], and the fertility of the neighbouring country, watered by the river Lelantus, and covered with olive-trees, invite to the harbour the veſſels of commercial nations [a]. The inhabitants are ignorant and curious to exceſs: they exerciſe hoſpitality towards ſtrangers, and, though jealous of liberty, eaſily bend their necks to ſervitude [b].

We ſlept at Chalcis, and the next morning, at day-break, arrived at Aulis, a ſmall town on the oppoſite coaſt, near which there is a large bay, where the fleet of Agamemnon was ſo long detained by contrary winds [c].

From Aulis we paſſed by Salganeus, and proceeded to Anthedon, by a pretty eaſy road, lying partly along the ſea ſhore, and partly over an eminence covered with wood, on which riſe a number of ſprings [d]. Anthedon is a ſmall town, with a public place ſhaded by handſome trees and ſurrounded by porticos. The principal occupation of the inhabitants is the fiſhery. A few cultivate

[x] Euſtat. in Iliad. ibid.
[y] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 19.
[z] Steph. in Χαλκ.
[a] Dicæarch. ibid. Plin. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. i. p. 211.
[b] Dicæarch. ibid.
[c] Strab. lib. 9, p. 403.
[d] Dicæarch. ibid.

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a light ſoil, which produces a great deal of wine and very little corn [e].

We had now travelled ſeventy ſtadia [*], and had only a hundred and ſixty [†] to arrive at Thebes [f].

As we were in a carriage, we took the road of the plain, though it was long and circuitous [g]. We ſoon approached this great city. At ſight of the citadel, which we diſcovered at a diſtance, Timagenes could no longer ſuppreſs his ſighs. Hope and fear were alternately painted on his countenance.—There then is my country, ſaid he; there is it that I left a father and mother who loved me with ſo much tenderneſs! Them I cannot flatter myſelf to find. But I had a brother and a ſiſter: it is poſſible death may have ſpared them to my longing eyes.—Theſe reflections, which were perpetually recurring, diſtracted both our ſouls. How much, at this inſtant, did I participate in his anxiety; and how much to be pitied did he appear to me a moment after! We arrived at Thebes, and the reſult of his firſt enquiries plunged a dagger into the heart of my friend. Regret for his abſence had hurried the authors of his being to the grave. His brother had fallen in battle; his ſiſter, who had been mar-

[e] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 18.
[*] Above 2 leagues and a half.
[†] Somewhat more than 6 leagues.
[f] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 17, et 19.
[g] Ibid. p. 17.

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ried at Athens, was no more, and had left only a ſon and daughter. His grief was extreme; but the marks of attention and tenderneſs he received from citizens of every rank, from ſome diſtant relations, and eſpecially from Epaminondas, alleviated his ſufferings, and compenſated in ſome meaſure for his loſſes.

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CHAP. V.

Stay at Thebes.—Epaminondas—Philip of Macedon.

IN the relation of a ſecond journey I made into Bœotia, I ſhall ſpeak of the city of Thebes, and of the manners of the Thebans. In my firſt, my whole attention was beſtowed on Epaminondas.

I was preſented to him by Timagenes; and he was too well acquainted with the ſage Anacharſis not to be ſtruck with my name. He was affected with the motives that brought me into Greece, and aſked me many queſtions concerning the Scythians; but I was ſo impreſſed with admiration and reſpect, that I anſwered with heſitation. Perceiving my embarraſſment, he turned the converſation on the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thouſand. He deſired to ſee us often, and we viſited him every day. We were preſent at ſeveral converſations which he held with the moſt enlightened Thebans, and with the ableſt officers. Though he had enriched his mind with every kind of knowledge, he choſe rather to hear than to ſpeak. His reflections were always juſt and profound. On occaſions of controverſy,

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verſy, when it was neceſſary to defend himſelf, his anſwers were prompt, energetic, and preciſe. Nothing could be more intereſting than the converſation, when it turned on philoſophical or political topics [h].

I call to mind, with a mixture of pride and pleaſure, the familiar terms on which I lived with perhaps the greateſt man that Greece ever has produced [i]; for why ſhould we not grant this title to the general who perfected the art of war, who eclipſed the glory of the moſt renowned commanders [k], and was never vanquiſhed but by fortune [l]; to the ſtateſman who gave to Thebes a ſuperiority ſhe had never poſſeſſed, and which ſhe loſt immediately on his death [m]; to the negociator who, in the general aſſemblies and congreſſes of Greece, always maintained a ſuperiority over the other Grecian deputies [n], and found means to retain in the alliance of Thebes, his country, even the ſtates who were jealous of the growth of this new power; to the man who equalled in eloquence the greater part of the Athenian orators [o], was no leſs devoted

[h] Nep. in Epam. cap. 3.
[i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, c. 34, t. i. p. 313. Id. Tuſcul. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 234.
[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 356, et 396. Ælian. lib. 7, cap. 14.
[l] Polyb. lib. 9, p. 548.
[m] Id. lib. 6, p. 488. Diod. ibid. p. 388, et 397. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 11, p. 622. Nep. in Epam. c. 10.
[n] Nep. in Epam. cap. 6.
[o] Cicer. in Brut. cap. 13, t. i. p. 346.

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to his country than Leonidas [p], and perhaps more juſt even than Ariſtides?

A faithful portrait of his mind and heart would be the only eulogy worthy of Epaminondas; but who is able to define and explain that ſublime philoſophy which enlightened and directed all his actions; that genius, ſo rich in information and ſo fruitful in reſources; thoſe plans, concerted with ſuch prudence and executed with ſuch celerity? Who ſhall ſufficiently deſcribe his equality of mind, his purity of morals *, his dignity of demeanour and of manners, the attention he paid to truth even in the minuteſt particulars, his mildneſs, his benignity, and the patience with which he ſuſtained the injuſtice of the people, and even of ſome of his friends [q]?

In a life where the private individual appears no leſs amiable than the public man, it will ſuffice promiſcuouſly to ſelect a few traits which ſerve to characterize them both. I have already related his principal achievements in the firſt chapter of this work.

His houſe was leſs the aſylum than the ſanctuary of poverty. She reigned there with the pure joy of innocence, and the unalterable ſerenity of happineſs, ſurrounded by the other virtues, to which

[p] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 2, cap. 19, t. ii. p. 123.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[q] Nep. in Epam. cap. 3. Plut. in Pelop. p. 290. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 49, p. 699.

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ſhe gave new powers, while ſhe derived luſtre from their eminence. She reigned there with a privation ſo abſolute as almoſt to ſurpaſs belief[r]. When on the point of ſetting out on an expedition into Peloponneſus, Epaminondas was obliged to borrow fifty drachmas to purchaſe himſelf the neceſſary equipage*; yet was it about the ſame time that he rejected with indignation fifty pieces of gold, which a Theſſalian prince had ventured to offer him[s]. In vain did his friends attempt to ſhare their fortune with him; but he made them ſhare the honour of relieving the wretched.

We found him one day with ſeveral of them aſſembled at his houſe, to whom he ſaid: Sphodrias has a daughter who is marriageable, but as he is too poor to give her a portion, I have taxed each of you according to your abilities. I am obliged to ſtay at home for a few days, but the firſt time I go out I will preſent to you this worthy citizen, for it is but right that he ſhould receive your bounty from yourſelves, and be acquainted with his benefactors[t]. They all conſented to the propoſal, and left him with thanks for this mark of confidence. Timagenes, to whom this project of retirement had given ſome uneaſineſs, enquired of him the motive; to which he ſimply

[r] Front. Strat. lib. 4, cap. 3.
* About 45 livres (1l. 17s. 6d.)
[s] Ælian. lib. 11, cap. 9. Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 193.
[t] Nep. in Epam. cap. 3.

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anſwered: I am obliged to have my mantle cleaned[y]. And the truth is that he had not a ſecond.

A moment after, Mycithus, a young man to whom he was greatly attached, entered, and ſaid: Diomedon of Cyzicus is arrived, and has addreſſed himſelf to me to be introduced to you. He has ſome propoſitions to make on the part of the king of Perſia, with orders to deliver to you a conſiderable ſum, and has even forced me to accept five talents.—Let him enter, anſwered Epaminondas. "Hear me, Diomedon," ſaid he; "if "the views of Artaxerxes be conſiſtent with the "intereſts of my country, I ſtand in no need of "his preſents: if not, all the gold in his empire "would not induce me to betray my duty. You "have judged of my heart by your own; I for-"give you this miſtake; but depart inſtantly from "the city, leſt you ſhould corrupt the inhabitants[z]. "And as for you, Mycithus, if you do not this "very moment return the money you have re-"ceived, I ſhall deliver you up to the magiſtracy." We had ſtepped out during this converſation, but Mycithus repeated it to us directly after.

This leſſon Epaminondas had more than once given to thoſe about him. When at the head of the army, having learnt that his ſhield-bearer had

[y] Ælian. lib. 5, cap. 5.
[z] Nep. in Epam. cap. 4. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5, cap. 5.

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ſold a captive his liberty: Give me back my buckler, ſaid he to him. Since your hands are ſoiled with money, you are no longer worthy to follow me in dangers [y].

A zealous diſciple of Pythagoras, he imitated his frugality. He denied himſelf the uſe of wine, and frequently took no other nutriment but a little honey [z]. Muſic, which he had been taught by the ableſt maſters, ſometimes conſtituted the delight of his leiſure hours. He excelled on the flute; and at entertainments to which he was invited ſang in his turn, accompanying his voice with the lyre [a].

The more affability he diſplayed in ſociety, the greater was his ſeverity when it became neceſſary to maintain the decorum ſuitable to each condition. One of the loweſt of the people, a man abandoned to debauchery, had been detained in priſon: Why, ſaid Pelopidas to his friend, did you refuſe me his pardon and grant it to a courtezan? "Be-"cauſe," anſwered Epaminondas, "it ill becomes "a man like you to intereſt yourſelf for a man "like him [b]."

Never did he either court or decline public employments. He more than once ſerved as a com-

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[y] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 11, cap. 9. Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 194.

[z] Athen. lib. 10, p. 419.

[a] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 234. Athen. lib. 4, p. 184. Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.

[b] Plut. de Rei Ger. Præc. t. ii. p. 808.

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mon ſoldier, under inexperienced generals, preferred to him by intrigue. More than once the troops, beſieged in their camp and reduced to the moſt critical extremities, had recourſe to him for aſſiſtance. On theſe occaſions he directed the operations, repulſed the enemy, and brought back the army in ſafety, without remembering either the injuſtice he had experienced, or the ſervice he had rendered to his country[c].

He neglected no circumſtance that might raiſe the courage of his nation, and render it formidable to others. Previous to his firſt campaign in Peloponneſus, he prevailed on ſome Thebans to wreſtle with ſeveral Lacedæmonians who were then at Thebes. The former having gained the advantage, from that moment his ſoldiers began no longer to dread the Lacedæmonians[d]. Whilſt he was encamped, in winter, in Arcadia, the deputies of one of the adjacent cities propoſed to him to enter and take up his quarters in it. "No," ſaid Epaminondas to his officers; "if they ſaw us "ſeated by the fire, they would take us for ordi-"nary men. We will remain here, notwithſtand-"ing the rigour of the ſeaſon. When they ſee "us continue our wreſtling matches and military "exerciſes, they will be loſt in aſtoniſhment[e]."

[c] Nep. in Epam. cap. 7.
[d] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2, cap. 3, § 6.
[e] Plut. an Seni &c. p. 788.

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Daiphantus and Iollidas, two general officers who had merited his eſteem, ſaid one day to Timagenes; You would admire him ſtill more, had you followed him in his expeditions; had you ſtudied his marches, his encampments, his diſpoſitions before a battle, and his genuine courage and preſence of mind in the heat of the conflict; had you beheld him ever active and ſerene, penetrating at a glance the projects of the enemy, lulling them into a fatal ſecurity, multiplying around them almoſt inevitable ambuſhes[f], maintaining at the ſame time the moſt rigid diſcipline in his army, exciting, by new and efficacious methods, the ardour of his ſoldiers[g], and unremittingly exerting himſelf for their preſervation, and, above every thing, for their honour.

By ſuch engaging marks of attention he has completely won their hearts. Even when worn out with fatigue, and tormented by hunger, they are always ready to execute his orders, and ruſh into the midſt of danger[h]. Thoſe panic terrors, ſo frequent in other armies, are unknown in his; and when they are likely to ariſe, a ſingle word from him diſpels or turns them to his advantage[i]. We were on the point of entering Peloponneſus, and the army of the enemy had encamped in

[f] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2, cap. 3.
[g] Id. ibid.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. lib. 7, p. 645.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 367, et 368. Polyæn. ibid. § 3, et 8.

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front [k]. Whilſt Epaminondas was reconnoitring their poſition, a clap of thunder cauſed a great alarm amongſt the ſoldiers; and the augur ordered our march to be ſuſpended. In this moment of diſmay the general was aſked what could be the meaning of ſuch a preſage. "Why, that the "enemy has choſen a bad camp," cried he with confidence. The courage of the troops revived; and the next day they forced the paſs [l].

The two Theban officers related other facts which I ſuppreſs; and, omitting ſeveral that occurred before my eyes, I ſhall proceed to this reflection. Epaminondas, devoid of ambition, vanity, or intereſted views, raiſed, in a few years, his nation to that height of greatneſs which we have ſeen the Thebans attain. This prodigy he effected, in the firſt inſtance, by the influence of his virtues and his talents. While he thus ſwayed the mind of the public, by the ſuperiority of his genius and information, he guided at will the paſſions of others, becauſe he remained maſter of his own. But his ſucceſs is principally to be imputed to the energy of his character. His lofty and independent ſoul felt an early indignation at the ſovereignty aſſumed by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians over the Greeks in general, and more particularly over the Thebans. He vowed an

[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 380.
[l] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2, cap. 3, § 3.

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eternal hatred to these oppressors, which would have remained secluded in his own breast; but no sooner did his country confide to him the avenging of her wrongs, than he broke the chains of nations, and became a conqueror from duty. He formed the project, equally bold and new, of attacking the Lacedæmonians in the very centre of their empire, and of depriving them of that pre-eminence they had enjoyed for such a series of ages. This plan he pursued with perseverance, in despite of their power, their fame, their allies, and even of their enemies, who beheld with a jealous eye the rapid progress of the Thebans. Nor did he suffer his ardour to be checked by the opposition of a party, formed at Thebes in favour of peace, because Epaminondas was inclined to war[m]. Meneclides was at the head of this faction. His eloquence, his authority, and the secret charms of tranquillity, so prevalent with the greater part of mankind, gave him great influence among the people; but the firmness of Epaminondas finally surmounted all obstacles, and when we left Thebes every thing was ready for the campaign. Had not death terminated his career in the midst of a triumph, which left the Lacedæmonians without resource, he would have made the Athenians give an account of the victories they had gained over

[m] Nep. in Epam. cap. 5.

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the Greeks, and, as he ſaid himſelf, have enriched the citadel of Thebes with the monuments which decorated that of Athens [n].

We had frequent opportunities of ſeeing Polymnis, the father of Epaminondas. This reſpectable old man was leſs affected with the homage paid to his own virtues, than with the honours beſtowed upon his ſon. He more than once reminded us of the tender ſentiment expreſſed by Epaminondas, after the battle of Leuctra, amid the acclamations of the army: "What gives me "the moſt pleaſure is, that the authors of my be-"ing are yet alive and will enjoy my glory [o]."

The Thebans had entruſted Polymnis with the care of the young Philip, brother of Perdiccas king of Macedon [p]. Pelopidas, having appeaſed the troubles of that kingdom, received for hoſtages this prince and thirty young Macedonian noblemen [q]. Philip, then about eighteen years of age, already united the talent with the deſire of pleaſing. All who ſaw him admired his beauty [r]; and all who heard him, his wit, memory, eloquence, and thoſe graces which added ſo many charms to his words [s]. His gaiety ſometimes ſuf-

[n] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 411.
[o] Plut. in Coriol. t. i. p. 215.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 407.
[q] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 291. Diod. lib. 15, p. 379. Juſtin. lib. 7, cap. 5. Oroſ. l. 3, c. 12, p. 167.
[r] Æſch. de Falſ. Leg. p. 402, et 412.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 401.

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fered a few ſallies to eſcape him, but theſe were ſuch as could never give offence. Mild, affable, generous, and quick in diſcerning merit, no man knew better than he the art and neceſſity of inſinuating himſelf into the heart[t]. The Pythagorean Nauſithous, his preceptor, had inſtilled into him a taſte for literature, which he retained all his life, and gave him leſſons of temperance which he afterwards forgot[u]. The love of pleaſure made its appearance amid ſo many excellent qualities, but without interrupting their application; and it was already foretold that if this prince ſhould one day mount the throne, he would not be governed entirely either by buſineſs, or by pleaſure.

Philip was aſſiduouſly attentive to Epaminondas; in the genius of a great man he ſtudied the ſecret of one day becoming great[x]; he eagerly collected his obſervations as well as his examples; and it was in this excellent ſchool that he learned to moderate and govern his paſſions[y], to liſten to the truth, to correct his errors, to know the Greeks, and to enſlave Greece.

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[t] Diod. lib. 16, p. 482. Plut. an Seni &c. t. ii. p. 806.
[u] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1, p. 130. Diod. ibid. p. 407. Athen. l. 4, p. 167. lib. 6, p. 260.
[x] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 292.
[y] Plut. Conjug. Præc. t. ii. p. 143; in Apopht. p. 177.

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CHAP. VI.

Departure from Thebes.—Arrival at Athens.—Inhabitants of Attica.

I HAVE already ſaid that Timagenes had no relations remaining but a nephew and a niece, ſettled at Athens. The name of his nephew was Philotas, and that of his niece Epicharis. She had married a wealthy citizen named Apollodorus. They came to Thebes a few days after our arrival. Timagenes enjoyed in their ſociety a pleaſure and tranquillity which had long been ſtrangers to his heart. Philotas was of the ſame age with myſelf. I began to form an intimacy with him, and he ſoon became my guide, my companion, my friend, the tendereſt and faithfuleſt of friends.

Before their departure they had made us promiſe ſhortly to pay them a viſit. We took leave of Epaminondas with a regret which he deigned to ſhare, and repaired to Athens on the 16th of the month Antheſterion, in the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad *. In the houſe of Apollodorus we

* The 13th of March of the year 362 before J. C.

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found all the comforts and assistance to be expected from his opulence and connexions.

The next day after my arrival I flew to the academy, where I saw Plato. I went to the work-room of the painter Euphranor. I was in that kind of delirium occasioned by the first sight of celebrated men and the pleasure of approaching them. I next fixed my attention on the city, and for some days employed myself in admiring its monuments, and in visiting its environs.

Athens is, as it were, divided into three parts; the citadel, built on a rock; the city, situated around this rock [a]; and the harbours of Phalerum, Munychiæ and the Piræus *.

The first inhabitants of Athens fixed their abode on the rock of the citadel [a]. There stood the ancient town, which, though from its situation it was accessible only on the south-west [b], was every where encompassed with walls which are still remaining [c].

The circumference of the modern city is sixty stadia † [d]. The walls flanked with towers [e], and

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[a] Aristid. Panathen. t. i. p. 99.
* See the plan of the environs of Athens.
[a] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 15.
[b] Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 22, p. 51. Wheeler. Voyag. du Levant. t. ii. p. 415.
[c] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 137. Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 28, p. 67.
† 2½ leagues.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13. Schol. ibid.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 17.

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haſtily built in the time of Themiſtocles, exhibit on all ſides fragments of columns and ruins, confuſedly intermingled with the unſhapen materials employed in their conſtruction [f].

From the city run two long walls, one of which, thirty-five ſtadia in length *, terminates at the port of Phalerum; and the other, which is of forty ſtadia †, at that of the Piræus. They are almoſt entirely ſhut in at their extremity by a third of ſixty ſtadia [g]; and as they embrace not only theſe two harbours, and that of Munychiæ which is in the middle, but a multitude of houſes, temples, and monuments of every kind [h], the entire circumference of the city may be eſtimated at near two hundred ſtadia ‡ [i].

To the ſouth-weſt, and cloſe to the citadel, is the rock of the Muſeum, ſeparated by a little valley, from the hill on which the Areopagus holds its aſſemblies. Other eminences contribute to render the ſite of this city extremely uneven. From them proceed ſome feeble ſprings of water, but not ſufficient to ſupply the inhabitants [k]. This deficiency

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[f] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 93.
* 1½ league.
† 1½ league.
[g] Id. lib. 2, cap. 13.
[h] Id. lib. 2, cap. 17. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 1, et 2.
‡ Above 7 leagues and a half.
[i] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 6, p. 87.
[k] Plat. in Lyſ. t. ii. p. 203. Strab. lib. 9, p. 397.

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is remedied by wells and ciſterns, in which the water acquires a coolneſs which is anxiouſly ſought [1].

The ſtreets in general are deſtitute of regularity. The greater number of the houſes are ſmall and incommodious [m]. As for thoſe which are more magnificent, you can hardly get a glimpſe of their decorations, acroſs a court, or rather a long and narrow avenue [n]. Externally, every thing has the air of ſimplicity, and ſtrangers at firſt ſight ſeek in Athens itſelf for that city, ſo celebrated through the world [o]; but their admiration imperceptibly increaſes, when they attentively examine thoſe temples, thoſe porticos and public buildings, in the embelliſhment of which all the arts have contended for the prize.

The Iliſſus and the Cephiſus meander around the city, and ſeveral public walks are laid out at no great diſtance from their banks. Further on, hills covered with olives, laurels, and vines, terminating in lofty mountains, form, as it were, a zone around the plain, which, to the ſouthward, is bounded only by the ſea.

Attica is a kind of peninſula of a triangular form.

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[1] Theoph. Char. cap. 20.
[m] Dicæarch. p. 8.
[n] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 8, v. 435. Didym. ib. Heſych in Εὐρυ. Vitruv. lib. 6, cap. 10.
[o] Dicæarch. p. 8.

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The coaſt oppoſite to Argolis may extend in a right line about 375 ſtadia *; that which borders on Bœotia, 235 †; and that which looks towards Eubœa, 406 ‡. It contains 53,200 ſquare ſtadia §, without including the iſle of Salamis, which contains no more than 2,925 ſquare ſtadia ‖.

This little country, every where interſected with rocks and mountains, is by nature extremely barren, and it is by dint of cultivation alone that it repays the huſbandman for his labours; but laws, induſtry, commerce, and the remarkable purity of the air, have been ſo favourable to population, that Attica is at this day covered with villages and towns, of which Athens is the capital ¶.

The inhabitants of Attica are divided into three claſſes. The firſt comprehends the citizens; the ſecond, the foreigners ſettled in the country; and the third, the ſlaves.

The ſlaves are diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the natives of Greece, and thoſe brought from foreign countries. The former conſiſt in general of thoſe whom the fate of arms has thrown into the hands of a conqueror irritated by too obſtinate

* About 13 leagues and a half.
† Near 9 leagues.
‡ 15½ leagues.
§ 76 ſquare leagues.
‖ About 4 ſquare leagues.
¶ See the map of Attica.

 a reſiſtance.

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a reſiſtance [p]. The latter are brought from Thrace, Phrygia, Caria *, and the countries inhabited by barbarians [q].

Slaves of every age, ſex, and nation, form a conſiderable object of traffic throughout Greece. Merchants, eager after gain, are perpetually tranſporting them from one country to another. They heap them together like the vileſt merchandize in the market-places; and when a purchaſer appears, oblige them to dance a round, to enable him to judge of their powers and agility [r]. The price they fetch varies according to their talents. Some are valued at three hundred drachmas †, others at ſix hundred ‡ [s]. Several ſell for much more. The Greeks who fall into the hands of pirates, are expoſed to ſale in the Grecian cities, and forfeit their freedom till they are able to pay a heavy ranſom [t]. Both Plato and Diogenes experienced this misfortune. The friends of the former paid three thouſand drachmas to redeem him § [u]. The latter remained in bondage, and taught the children of his maſter to be free and virtuous [x].

[p] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 68.

* The foreign ſlaves were diſtinguiſhed among the Greeks by the name of their reſpective nations; one was called *Carian*, another *Thrace*, &c.

[q] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 675.

† 270 livres (11l. 5s.)

[r] Menand. ap. Harpocrat. in Κύκλοι.

‡ 540 livres (22l. 10s.)

[s] Demoſth. in Aphob. 1, p. 896.

[t] Andoc. de Myſter. p. 18. Terent. Eunuch. act. 1, ſcen. 2.

§ 2700 livres (112l. 10s.)

[u] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3, § 20.

[x] Id. lib. 6, § 29.

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Throughout almoſt all Greece the number of ſlaves infinitely ſurpaſſes that of the citizens [y]. Almoſt every where the utmoſt exertions are obliged continually to be made to keep them in ſubjection [z]. Lacedæmon, by having recourſe to rigorous meaſures to force them to obedience, has often driven them to revolt. Athens wiſhing to ſecure their fidelity by gentler methods, has made them inſolent [a].

It is eſtimated that there are about four hundred thouſand ſlaves in Attica [b]. Theſe cultivate the lands, conduct the manufactures, work the mines, labour at the quarries, and perform all the domeſtic offices in private houſes: for the law prohibits the maintenance of idle ſlaves; and thoſe who, born in a ſervile condition, are unable to apply themſelves to laborious occupations, endeavour to become uſeful by their addreſs, their talents, or application to the arts [c]. Some manufacturers employ upwards of fifty [d], and derive from them a conſiderable profit. In ſome of theſe works, one ſlave will give a clear annual produce of a hundred * [e], and in others of a hundred and twenty drachmas † [f].

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[y] Athen. lib. 6, p. 272.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 776.
[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.
[b] Athen. lib. 6, p. 272.
[c] Ulpian. in Mid. p. 683.
[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 9, t. ii. p. 578. Demoſth. in Aphob. 1, p. 896.
* 90 livres (3l. 15s.)
[e] Demoſth. ibid.
† 108 livres (4l. 10s.)
[f] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 275.

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Some there are who have merited their liberty by fighting for the republic[g], or by exhibiting such proofs of zeal and attachment to their masters as are still celebrated as examples for the rest[h]. When they are unable to obtain it by services, they purchase it with a *peculium*, or private property they are permitted to amass[i], and which they employ in presents to their masters, on festive occasions; as, for instance, when a child is born, or a marriage takes place in the family[k].

When essentially deficient in their duties, their masters may load them with chains[l], condemn them to turn the millstone[m], prevent them from marrying, or separate them from their wives[n]; but on no account may they attempt their lives. When treated with cruelty, they are driven to desertion, or to seek an asylum at least in the temple of Theseus[o]. In this case, they require to be transferred to the service of another less rigorous master[p], and sometimes are so fortunate as to be able to withdraw themselves from the yoke of the tyrant who oppressed them[q].

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[g] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 705.
[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 776.
[i] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 15, p. 241.
[k] Terent. Phorm. act. 1. scen. 1.
[l] Athen. lib. 6, p. 272.
[m] Terent. And. act. 1, scen. 3.
[n] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 844.
[o] Poll. lib. 7, cap. 12, p. 694.
[p] Plut. de Superst. t. ii. p. 166.
[q] Demosth. in Mid. p. 611. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 178. Athen. lib. 6, p. 266, et 267.

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Thus have the laws provided for their ſafety; but when they are intelligent, or poſſeſſed of pleaſing talents, intereſt proves a more powerful protector than the laws. With ſuch endowments they enrich their maſters, and themſelves by retaining part of their earnings. Theſe profits accumulated, enable them to procure patrons, to live in the moſt unbecoming luxury, and to unite the inſolence of arrogant pretenſions with ſordidneſs of ſentiment[r].

Severe penalties are denounced againſt any man who ſhall ſtrike the ſlave of another, every act of violence being a crime againſt the ſtate[s]; and the ſlave being ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the free man by any external mark*, the outrage, but for this law, might fall on the citizen, whoſe perſon ſhould be ſacred[t].

When a ſlave is enfranchiſed, he does not paſs into the claſs of citizens, but into that of the foreign ſettlers, which is connected with the latter by liberty, and with that of the ſlaves by the ſmall portion of reſpect or influence it poſſeſſes in the ſtate.

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[r] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.

[s] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 610.

* The ſlaves were obliged to ſhave their heads (Ariſtoph. in Av. 912. Schol. ibid.); but they covered them with bonnets (Id. in Veſp. 443). Their dreſs ſhould reach only to the knee (Id. in Lyſiſ. 1153. Schol. ibid.); but many citizens wore garments of the ſame kind.

[t] Xenoph. ibid.

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This intermediate class, to the number of about ten thousand [a], consists of strangers settled with their families in Attica [z], most of them exercising trades, or serving in the navy [y]; protected by, without participating in, the government; free, yet dependent; useful to the republic which fears them, because she dreads liberty detached from the love of country, and despised by a people at once proud and jealous of the distinctions annexed to the condition of a citizen [x].

They are obliged to select from among the citizens a patron to be responsible for their conduct [a], and to pay an annual tribute to the public treasury of twelve drachmas * for the heads of families, and six drachmas † for their children [b]. Their property is forfeited when they neglect complying with the former of these conditions, and their liberty when they violate the latter [c]; but if they are fortunate enough to render any signal services to the state, they obtain an exemption from the tribute [d].

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[a] Athen. lib. 6, p. 272.
[z] Harpocr. in Μίλοιν.
[y] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6, cap. 1.
[a] Harpocr. et Suid. in Προστάτης. Hyper. ap. Harpocr. in Ἄπορος.
* 10 livres 16 sols (9 shillings).
† 5 livres 8 sols (4 shillings and sixpence).
[b] Isæus apud Harpocr. in Μίλοιν. Poll. lib. 3, cap. 4, § 55.
[c] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 172.
[d] Id. p. 169.

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In religious ceremonies they are diſtinguiſhed from the citizens by particular functions. The men muſt carry part of the offerings, and their wives hold umbrellas over the free women [e]; they are expoſed likewiſe to the inſults of the people, and to degrading ſallies of raillery from the ſtage [f].

The republic has been known to adopt a great number of them into the claſs of citizens, when exhauſted by long wars [g]. But if by any clandeſtine practices they contrive to procure admiſſion into that reſpectable order, they are liable to a judicial proſecution, and ſometimes even to be ſold for ſlaves [h].

The freed men, admitted into this claſs, are ſubject to the ſame tribute, the ſame dependence, and the ſame humiliations. Thoſe who are born in ſervitude never can become citizens [i]; and every patron, able in a regular courſe of juſtice to convict the ſlave he had enfranchiſed of ingratitude, is authorized inſtantly to load him anew with chains, ſaying to him: Be a ſlave, ſince thou knoweſt not how to live free [k].

The condition of the intermediate claſs begins to

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[e] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 1. Periz. ibid. Harpocr. in Μίλοιξ. et in Σκαφ. Suid. et Heſych. in Σκαφ.
[f] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 507.
[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 216.
[h] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 134.
[i] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 15, p. 239.
[k] Val. Maxim. lib. 2, cap. 6.

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be more favourable[l]. For some time past they have been less insulted, but they are not therefore better satisfied with their lot; for having obtained respect, they are now looking for distinctions, it being a painful situation to remain entirely without authority or influence in a city containing so many persons of importance.

He is a citizen by birth, who is born of a father and mother who are themselves citizens[m]; but the child of an Athenian, who marries a foreign woman, is entitled only to the condition of his mother. This law was made by Pericles at a time when he was surrounded by children likely to perpetuate his family; and he carried it into execution with so much rigour, that near five thousand persons, excluded from the rank of citizens, were publicly sold by auction. He violated it when he had only one son left, whose birth he had formerly declared illegitimate[n].

The citizens by adoption enjoy almost the same privileges as the natives. At first, when it was necessary to encourage the population of Attica, the title of citizen was bestowed on every person who came to settle in that country[o]. When that necessity ceased, Solon granted it only to those

[l] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.
[m] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 138.
[n] Plut. in Pericl. p. 172. Ælian. lib. 6, c. 10. lib. 13, c. 24. Suid. in Δημοσ. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 716.
[o] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 2. Schol. ibid.

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who ſhould bring with them their families, or to perſons who, exiled for ever from their country, came thither in ſearch of a ſecure aſylum [p]. At length it was promiſed to thoſe who ſhould render ſervices to the ſtate [q]; and as nothing can be more honourable than to excite the gratitude of an enlightened nation, no ſooner was this privilege offered as the reward of merit, than it became the object of the ambition even of ſovereigns, who reflected new luſtre on it when they ſucceeded, and ſtill greater when they were unable to obtain the diſtinction. It was formerly refuſed to Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, who was worthy of the honour [r]; and ſince granted with more facility [s] to Evagoras king of Cyprus, Dionyſius king of Syracuſe, and other princes. It was ardently ſought after ſo long as the Athenians rigorouſly obſerved the laws to prevent its being too eaſily obtained: for by theſe laws it is not ſufficient that the candidate be adopted by a decree of the people; this decree muſt be confirmed by an aſſembly in which ſix thouſand citizens give their ſuffrages by ballot; and this double election may be objected to by the loweſt of the Athenians, and undergo the examina-

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[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.
[q] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 861.
[r] Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Meurſ. de Fort. Athen. p. 1702.
[s] Epiſt. Phil. ad Athen. in Oper. Demoſth. p. 115. Iſocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 97.

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tion of a tribunal empowered to correct even the judgment of the people [t].

These precautions, of late too much neglected, have not prevented persons from attaining the rank of citizens, who have been a disgrace to the title [u], and whose example will eventually justify still more dishonourable elections.

Among the citizens of Athens it is estimated that there are twenty thousand men able to bear arms [x].

All those who are distinguished by their wealth, birth, virtues, or knowledge [y], form here, as in almost every country, the principal class of citizens, who may be called the higher class.

This comprises men of fortune, because they support the burthens of the state; and the virtuous and enlightened, because they chiefly contribute to its preservation and glory. As for birth, it is respected, from a presumption that it transmits from father to son more noble sentiments, and a more ardent patriotism than can be found in vulgar minds [z].

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[t] Demosth. in Neær. p. 875.

[u] Id. de Rep. Ordin. p. 126.

[x] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 112. Demosth. in Aristog. p. 836. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. Philochor. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9, v, 67. Id. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 716. Ctesicl. ap. Athen. lib. 6, cap. 20, p. 272.

[y] Arist. de Rep. lib. 4, c. 4, t. ii. p. 368. Herald. Animadv. in Salm. Observ. lib. 3, p. 252.

[z] Arist. de Rep. lib. 3, c. 13, t. ii. p. 353. Id. Rhetor. lib. 1, c. 9, t. ii. p. 532.

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Particular regard therefore is paid to families which claim their deſcent from the gods, the kings of Athens, or the ancient heroes of Greece; and ſtill more to the families whoſe founders have diſplayed examples of diſtinguiſhed virtue, filled the chief offices of magiſtracy, gained battles, or obtained crowns in the public games [a].

Some trace back their origin to the remoteſt ages. For more than one thouſand years paſt the houſe of the Eumolpidæ has been in poſſeſſion of the prieſthood of Ceres Eleuſinia [b], and that of the Eteobutadæ of the prieſthood of Minerva [c]; others have as extenſive pretenſions, and to give weight to them invent genealogies [d], which few take the trouble to invalidate. For this higher claſs form no diſtinct body; they enjoy no peculiar privilege nor precedency; but their education gives them a claim to the firſt places, and the public opinion facilitates their attaining them.

The city of Athens contains, excluſive of the ſlaves, upwards of thirty thouſand inhabitants [e].

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[a] Plat. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 3, § 88. Ariſt. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 522.
[b] Heſych. in Εὐμολπ.
[c] Id. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐτεοβ.
[d] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 284.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 1124.

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CHAP. VII.

Meeting of the Academy.

I HAD now been ſome days at Athens, and had taken a rapid view of the curioſities it contains. When this ardour was ſomewhat abated, Apollodorus, my hoſt, propoſed to me to pay another viſit to the academy *.

We croſſed a quarter of the city called the Ceramicus, or Tile Grounds, and thence, going out by the gate Dipylon, we came into fields called likewiſe Ceramicus [f], and obſerved, as we went along, a number of tombs [g]; for no perſon is allowed to be buried in the city [h]. The citizens in general have their places of ſepulture at their country houſes [i], or in quarters allotted them without the walls. The Ceramicus is ſet apart for thoſe who have fallen in battle [k]. Among theſe tombs, we ſee thoſe of Pericles and ſome other

* See the plan of the academy.
[f] Meurſ. Ceram. Gem. cap. 19.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 29, p. 70.
[h] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Fam. lib. 4, epiſt. 12, t. vii. p. 139.
[i] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040, et in Callicl. p. 1117.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 34.

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Athenians who did not die in arms, but whom their country has thought deſerving of the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours [l].

The academy is only at the diſtance of ſix ſtadia * [m] from the city. It is a large encloſure of ground, formerly the property of a citizen of Athens named Academus [n]. At preſent it contains a gymnaſium, and a garden ſurrounded by walls [o], adorned with delightful covered walks [p], and embelliſhed by waters which flow under the ſhade of the plane and various other kinds of trees [q]. At the entrance is the altar of Love, and the ſtatue of that god [r]; and within, the altars of ſeveral other deities. Not far from hence Plato has fixed his reſidence, near a ſmall temple, which he has dedicated to the Muſes, and on a piece of ground belonging to himſelf [s]. He comes every day to the academy, where we found him in the midſt of his diſciples, and I inſtantly felt myſelf inſpired with that reſpect which every one muſt feel in his preſence [t].

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[l] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 29, p. 71.
* A quarter of a league.
[m] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 196.
[n] Heſych. et Suid. in Ἀκαδ.
[o] Suid. in τὸ Ἰπποαρχ.
[p] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.
[q] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 1001.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 30.
[s] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 603. Laert. in Plat. lib. 3, § 5, et 20. Id. in Speuſ. lib. 4, cap. 8, § 1.
[t] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 10.

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Though about ſixty-eight years old, he ſtill retained a freſh and animated complexion. Nature had beſtowed on him a robuſt body. His long voyages had impaired his health; but this he had reſtored by a ſtrict attention to regimen [a]: and he was no otherwiſe affected than by a habit of melancholy; a habit common to him with Socrates, Empedocles, and other illuſtrious men [z].

He had regular features, a ſerious air [y], eyes full of mildneſs [x], an open forehead without hair [a], a wide cheſt, high ſhoulders [b], great dignity in his demeanour, gravity in his gait, and modeſty in the whole of his appearance [c].

He received me with as much ſimplicity as politeneſs, and pronounced ſo handſome an eulogium on the philoſopher Anacharſis, whoſe deſcendant I am, that I bluſhed at bearing the ſame name. He expreſſed himſelf ſlowly [d], but the graces and perſuaſion ſeemed to flow from his lips. As I became afterwards more particularly acquainted with him, his name will often appear in my narrative. I ſhall only here add a few particulars which I now learnt from Apollodorus.

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[a] Senec. epiſt. 58.
[z] Ariſt. Probl. ſect. 30, t. ii. p. 815. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434.
[y] Laert. lib. 3, § 28.
[x] Ælian. ibid.
[a] Nearth. ap. Laert. lib. 3, § 4.
[b] Suid. in Πλάτ. Senec. epiſt. 58.
[c] Ælian. lib. 3, cap. 19. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 361.
[d] Laert. lib. 3, § 5.

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The mother of Plato, ſaid he, was of the ſame family with Solon, our legiſlator, and his father derived his deſcent from Codrus, the laſt of our kings [e], who died about ſeven hundred years ago. In his youth, painting, muſic, and the various exerciſes of the gymnaſium, employed the whole of his time [f]. As he was born with a vigorous and brilliant imagination, he compoſed dithyrambics, tried his powers in epic poetry, compared his verſes to thoſe of Homer, and burnt them * [g]. Imagining that the theatre might indemnify him for this ſacrifice, he wrote ſome tragedies; but, whilſt the actors were preparing them for repreſentation, he became acquainted with Socrates, ſuppreſſed his pieces, and devoted himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of philoſophy [h].

He now felt an ardent deſire to make himſelf uſeful to mankind [i]. The Peloponneſian war had deſtroyed every principle of virtue, and corrupted the public manners. The glory of reſtoring them excited his ambition. Agitated night and day by

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[e] Laert. lib. 3, § 1. Suid in Πλάτ.

[f] Laert. ibid. § 4, et 5.

* While throwing them into the fire, he parodied this verſe of Homer—

"*Vulcan, draw near, 'tis Thetis aſks your aid:*"

Varying it thus—

"*Vulcan, draw near, 'tis Plato aſks your aid.*"

Hom. Iliad. 18, v. 392. Euſtath. t. ii. p. 1149. Laert. lib. 3, § 4, et 5.

[g] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 30.

[h] Laert. lib. 3, § 5.

[i] Plat. epiſt. 7, t. iii. p. 324.

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this ſublime idea, he waited with impatience for the moment, when, inveſted with the functions of magiſtracy, he ſhould have it in his power to diſplay his zeal and talents; but the rude ſhocks the republic had met with in the latter years of the war, thoſe frequent revolutions which in ſo ſhort a time exhibited tyranny under forms daily more terrific, the death of Socrates, his maſter and his friend, and the reflections that ſuch a ſeries of events gave riſe to in his mind, ſoon convinced him that all governments labour under incurable diſorders, that the affairs of mortals, if we may ſo ſpeak, are deſperate, and that they will never know happineſs till philoſophy ſhall take them under her guidance[k]. Abandoning therefore his project, he reſolved to increaſe his ſtock of knowledge, and to dedicate his acquirements to the inſtruction of his country. With this view he travelled to Megara, into Italy, Cyrenaica, and Egypt, and wherever the human mind had made any progreſs in improvement[l].

He was about forty years of age[m] when he undertook his voyage to Sicily to viſit Mount Ætna[n]. Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, was deſirous of diſcourſing with him. The converſation turned on happineſs, juſtice, and real greatneſs.

[k] Plat. epiſt. 7, t. iii. p. 326.
[l] Id. ibid. Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5, cap. 29, t. ii, p. 228. Laert. lib. 3, § 6. Quint. lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 81.
[m] Plat, ibid. p. 324.

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Plato having maintained that no human being could be ſo abject and wretched as an unjuſt prince, Dionyſius exclaimed in a rage: "You ſpeak like "a dotard."—"And you like a tyrant," anſwered Plato. This retort had nearly coſt him his life. Dionyſius would not ſuffer him to go on board a galley returning into Greece, until he had made the captain promiſe to throw him into the ſea, or ſell him for a ſlave. He was ſold, ranſomed, and brought back to his country. Some time after, the king of Syracuſe, incapable of remorſe, but deſirous not to loſe the good opinion of the Greeks, wrote to him, and having requeſted him to ſpare him in his diſcourſes, received only this contemptuous anſwer: "I have not leiſure to remember "Dionyſius[o]."

On his return, Plato entered on a mode of life from which he has never deviated. He has perſiſted in abſtaining from all public affairs, becauſe, according to him, we are no longer capable of being conducted to good, either by perſuaſion or by force[p]; but collecting the ſcattered rays of knowledge, which he found in the countries he has viſited, and reconciling, as far as is practicable, the opinions of preceding philoſophers, he has compoſed a ſyſtem which he explains in his writ-

[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 959. Laert. lib. 3, § 18.
[o] Laert. lib. 3, § 19, et 21.
[p] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Famil. lib. 1, epiſt. 9, t. vii.

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ings and his conferences. His works are in the form of dialogues. Socrates is the principal interlocutor; and it is alleged that, under the ſanction of his name, he has given the world many ideas which he himſelf has conceived or adopted [q].

His merit has created him enemies, and he has drawn others upon himſelf by the poignant irony ſcattered through his productions againſt ſeveral celebrated authors [r]. He puts it, it is true, into the mouth of Socrates; but the addreſs with which he handles it, and different anecdotes of him which might be adduced, prove that, in his youth at leaſt, he had no ſmall propenſity to ſatire [s]. His enemies however do not diſturb that tranquillity which his ſucceſſes or his virtues maintain within his heart. For he really poſſeſſes virtues, ſome which he has received from nature, and others that he has had the courage to acquire. He was born impetuous; at preſent he is the mildeſt and moſt patient of men [t]. The love of glory or celebrity ſeems to me his predominant, or rather his only paſſion; and I am apt to think, that he experiences that jealouſy of which he is himſelf ſo frequently the object [u]. Difficult and reſerved towards thoſe who preſs forward in the ſame track, open and

[q] Senec. epiſt. 6. Laert. lib. 3, cap. 35.
[r] Athen. lib. 11, p. 505.
[s] Id. ib.
[t] Senec. de Irâ, lib. 3, p. 114. Plut. t. ii. p. 10, et 551. Athen. lib. 2, p. 59.
[u] Athen. lib. 11, p. 506.

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communicative to thoſe whom he himſelf conducts, he has lived with the other diſciples of Socrates on terms of reſtraint or enmity [x]; but with his own in the utmoſt familiarity and confidence, unremittingly attentive to their progreſs as well as to their deficiencies, without weakneſs and without auſterity directing their propenſities towards worthy objects [y], and correcting them by his example, rather than by his precepts [z]. On their ſide, his diſciples carry their reſpect even to idolatry, and their admiration to fanaticiſm. Nay, you will ſee ſome of them affect high and round ſhoulders that they may have ſome reſemblance to their maſter [a]: like the courtiers in Ethiopia, who, when the ſovereign has ſome defect in his perſon, ſcruple not to mutilate themſelves to have the honour of ſimilitude [b]. Such are the leading features of his life and character. You will hereafter be better able to judge of his doctrine, his eloquence, and his daring and eccentric flights.

Apollodorus, as he concluded, perceived that I was looking with ſurpriſe at a tolerably handſome woman, who had introduced herſelf among the diſciples of Plato. Her name is Laſthenia, ſaid he; ſhe is a courtezan of Mantinea in Ar-

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[x] Laert. lib. 3, cap. 34, &c.
[y] Plut. de Sanit. Tuend. t. ii. p. 135.
[z] Plut. de Adulat. t. ii. p. 71.
[a] Id. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 26, et de Adulat. p. 53.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 3, p. 146.

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cadia [a]: the love of philoſophy firſt brought her to this place; but ſhe is ſuſpected of being retained here by a paſſion for Speuſippus, Plato's nephew, who is ſitting by her [d]. He made me at the ſame time remark a young Arcadian girl, named Axiothea, who, after reading one of the dialogues of Plato, had quitted every thing, even to her female dreſs, to come and attend the lectures of this philoſopher [e]. He named other women to me, who had done the ſame by means of a ſimilar diſguiſe [f].

And who is that meagre, lank young man, ſaid I, near Plato; who liſps, and whoſe little eyes are full of fire [g]? That, replied he, is Ariſtotle of Stagira, ſon of Nicomachus the phyſician, and friend of Amyntas king of Macedon [h]. Nicomachus left a conſiderable fortune to his ſon [i], who came to ſettle among us about five years ago, being then about ſeventeen or eighteen [k]. I know no perſon with ſo powerful an underſtanding, or more aſſiduous in his application. Plato diſtinguiſhes him from his other diſciples, and

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[a] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3, § 46; in Speuſipp. lib. 4, § 2.
[d] Athen. lib. 7, p. 279. lib. 12, p. 546.
[e] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3, cap. 46. Themiſt. orat. 23, p. 295.
[f] Menag. in Laert. p. 155.
[g] Laert. in Ariſt. lib. 5, § 1. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 26.
[h] Suid. in Νικόμ.
[i] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5, cap. 9.
[k] Apoll. ap. Laert. lib. 5, cap. 9. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 728.

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finds nothing to cenſure in him but too much attention to dreſs [l].

He whom you ſee near Ariſtotle, continued Apollodorus, is Xenocrates of Chalcedon, a heavy genius and deſtitute of every thing pleaſing in his manner. Plato frequently exhorts him to ſacrifice to the Graces. Of him and Ariſtotle he ſays, that the one has need of the rein, and the other of the ſpur [m]. Plato was one day informed that Xenocrates had ſpoken ill of him. I do not believe it, ſaid he. The perſon inſiſted on the truth of what he had affirmed, but he would not be convinced; proofs were offered: "No," replied he, "it is impoſſible that I ſhould not be beloved by one whom I love ſo affectionately [n]."

What is the name, ſaid I, of that other young man, who appears to be of ſo delicate a conſtitution, and who now and then ſhrugs up his ſhoulders [o]? That is Demoſthenes, ſaid Apollodorus. He is of a good family; his father, whom he loſt when ſeven years old, employed a conſiderable number of ſlaves in the manufacturing of ſwords and furniture of different kinds [p]. He has juſt gained a law-ſuit againſt his guardians, who attempted to defraud him of part of his pro-

[l] Laert. lib. 5, cap. 1. Ælian. lib. 3, cap. 19.
[m] Laert. in Xenocr. lib. 4, § 6.
[n] Val. Max. lib. 4, in extern. cap. 1.
[o] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.
[p] Demoſth. in Aphob. 1, p. 896.

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perty, and pleaded his own cauſe, though he is ſcarcely ſeventeen [q]. His companions, jealous, no doubt, of his ſucceſs, give him the nickname of ſerpent [r], and laviſh other diſgraceful epithets on him, which he ſeems to draw upon himſelf by the harſhneſs that he manifeſts towards others [s]. He intends to devote himſelf to the bar, and with this view frequents the ſchool of Iſæus, rather than that of Iſocrates, the eloquence of the former appearing to him more nervous than that of the latter. Nature has given him a feeble voice, a difficult reſpiration, and a diſagreeable mode of utterance [t]; but ſhe has endowed him with one of thoſe determined minds which are only ſtimulated by obſtacles. His object in frequenting this place is at once to acquire the principles of philoſophy, and to improve himſelf in eloquence [u].

The three pupils you ſee near Demoſthenes are attracted by the ſame motive. The one is named Æſchines; that young man who appears ſo florid and healthy [x]. Born in an obſcure condition, he exerciſed, in his childhood, not very honourable

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[q] Demoſth. in Aphob. 1, p. 895; et in Onetor. p. 921.
[r] Suid. in Δημ. Æſchin. in Tim. p. 280, et de Falſ. Leg. p. 410.
[s] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 847.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 844.
[u] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 20, t. i. p. 149. Id. in Brut. cap. 31, t. i. p. 363. Id. Orat. cap. 4, p. 423.
[x] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 840.

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functions [y]; and, poſſeſſing a fine and ſonorous voice, was next brought upon the ſtage, where he appeared however only in ſubordinate characters [z]. His mind is not deſtitute of graces, and he cultivates poetry with ſome ſucceſs [a]. The name of the ſecond is Hyperides [b], and that of the third, Lycurgus. The latter is one of the moſt ancient families of the republic [c].

All thoſe whom Apollodorus had named to me have ſince diſtinguiſhed themſelves; ſome by their eloquence, others by their conduct, and almoſt all of them by a determined hatred of ſervitude. I ſaw many foreigners likewiſe, who liſtened with the deepeſt attention to the maxims of Plato concerning juſtice and liberty; but who, after diſplaying ſome virtues on their return, either attempted to enſlave, or actually ſucceeded in impoſing chains upon their country [d]: tyrants the more dangerous, as they were educated in the deteſtation of tyranny.

Sometimes Plato would read his works to his diſciples [e]; at others he propoſed a queſtion to

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[y] Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 323, &c. Id. de Coronâ, p. 515, et 516.
[z] Vit. Æſchin. p. 41. Plut. ibid.
[a] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 281.
[b] Plut. ibid. 848.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 841.
[d] Athen. lib. 11, cap. 15, p. 508.
[e] Laert. lib. 3, § 37.

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them, allowing them time to meditate, and accuſtomed them to define with accuracy the ideas they annexed to words[f]. He uſually gave his leſſons in the walks of the academy[g]; for he held walking to be more conducive to health than the violent exerciſes of the gymnaſium[h]. His former ſcholars, his friends, nay even his enemies, often came to hear him, and others were attracted by the natural beauties of the place.

I ſaw a man arrive there, of about five and forty[i], without ſhoes[k] or tunic, with a long beard, a ſtaff in his hand, a wallet over his ſhoulders, and a cloak[l], under which he held a live cock ſtripped of its feathers. This he threw into the middle of the aſſembly, ſaying, "Behold the man of Plato[m]," and inſtantly diſappeared. Plato ſmiled[n]. His diſciples murmured. Apollodorus ſaid to me: Plato had defined man to be a two-footed animal without feathers, and Diogenes has taken this method to ridicule the definition as inaccurate. I took this ſtranger, ſaid I, for one of thoſe importunate beggars to be met with in every opulent and poliſhed nation. He does

[f] Epicr. ap. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 18, p. 59.
[g] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3, § 27. Ælian. lib. 3, cap. 19.
[h] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 227.
[i] Laert. lib. 6, § 76, et 79.
[k] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 6, p. 89.
[l] Laert. ibid. § 22, et 23.
[m] Id. ibid. § 40.
[n] Epicr. ap. Athen. lib. 2, p. 59.

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indeed beg ſometimes, anſwered my companion, but not always from want. Obſerving my ſurpriſe increaſe, Let us ſit down, ſaid he, under this plane tree; I will give you his hiſtory in a few words, and make you acquainted with ſome celebrated Athenians whom I ſee in the adjoining walks. We ſat down facing a tower, named after Timon the miſanthropiſt [o], and a riſing ground, covered with verdure and houſes, called Colone [p].

About the time that Plato opened his ſchool at the academy, reſumed Apollodorus, Antiſthenes, another diſciple of Socrates, eſtabliſhed one likewiſe, on an eminence ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the city [q]. This philoſopher laboured, during his youth, to make an external diſplay of the moſt rigid virtue; and Socrates, penetrating his intentions, one day ſaid to him: Antiſthenes, I ſee your vanity through the rents in your garment [r]. His maſter had taught him that happineſs conſiſts in virtue: and he made virtue conſiſt in a contempt of riches and enjoyments [s]; and, to enforce his maxims, appeared in public, with a ſtaff, and wallet over his ſhoulders, like one of thoſe unhappy mendicants who expoſe their wretchedneſs

[o] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 30.
[p] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 197.
[q] Laert. in Antiſth. lib. 6, § 13.
[r] Id. ibid. § 8.
[s] Id. ibid. § 3.

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to paſſengers [t]. The ſingularity of this ſight procured him diſciples, who remained attached to him for ſome time by his eloquence [u]. But the auſterities he preſcribed made them gradually diſappear, and, diſguſted at this deſertion, he ſhut up his ſchool [x].

Diogenes now made his appearance in this city. He had been baniſhed from Sinope, his native country, with his father, accuſed of diminiſhing the coin [y]. After a long reſiſtance [z], Antiſthenes imparted to him his principles, and Diogenes preſently gave them a greater extent. Antiſthenes ſought to correct the paſſions, Diogenes to deſtroy them. The wiſe man, to become happy, ſhould, according to him, render himſelf independent of fortune, of mankind, and of himſelf: of fortune, by braving alike her favours and caprices; of men, by diveſting himſelf of prejudices, and deſpiſing cuſtoms, and even laws, when not conformable to his underſtanding; of himſelf, by labouring to fortify his body againſt the rigour of the ſeaſons, and his mind againſt the allurements of pleaſure. He ſometimes ſays: "I am poor, a vagabond, without country, without aſylum, and compelled to live as I can from one day to another; but I oppoſe

[t] Laert. in Antiſth. lib. 6, § 13.
[u] Id. ibid. § 14.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 10, cap. 16.
[y] Laert. in Diog. lib. 6, § 20.
[z] Id, ibid. § 21. Ælian. ibid.

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courage to fortune, nature to the laws, and reason to the passions [a]." From these principles, which in their respective consequences may lead men to the summit of perfection, or plunge them into every species of disorder *, results a contempt for riches, honours, glory, the distinction of ranks, the decorum of society, the arts and sciences, and all the comforts and embellishments of life [b]. The man, created in the imagination of Diogenes, and whom he sometimes goes in search of with a lantern [c]; that being, foreign to every surrounding object, and inaccessible to every thing that gratifies the senses, who styles himself a citizen of the world, though he claims not that relation to his native land; that man would be as wretched as unprofitable in polished societies, and never did exist even prior to their origin. Diogenes imagines he can discover some faint resemblance of him among the Spartans: "I have found men no where," said he, "but I have seen children at Lacedæmon [d]."

To represent in his own person the man of his idea, he has undergone the rudest trials, and emancipated himself from every species of constraint.

[a] Laert. lib. 6, cap. 38. Ælian. lib. 3, cap. 29.

* Antisthenes and Diogenes were the founders of the Cynic school, and this school gave rise to that of the Stoics. Cicer. de Orator. lib. 3, cap. 17, t. i. p. 295.

[b] Laert. lib. 6, § 28, 71, 72, et 73.

[c] Id. ibid. § 41.

[d] Id. ibid. § 27.

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You will ſee him ſtruggling againſt hunger, appeaſing it with the groſſeſt aliments, refuſing to gratify it at entertainments where the table is covered with abundance; ſtretching out his hand for alms to paſſengers [e]; at night, ſhutting himſelf up in a tub; expoſing his body to the injuries of the weather, under the portico of a temple [f]; rolling himſelf in ſummer on the burning ſand, and in winter walking, with naked feet, amid the ſnow [g]; ſatisfying all the wants of nature in public, and in places frequented by the dregs of the people [h]; courageouſly braving and ſupporting ridicule, inſults, and injuſtice; acting in oppoſition to eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, even in things the moſt indifferent; and daily exhibiting ſcenes which, whilſt they excite the contempt of ſenſible men, reveal but too plainly to their eyes the ſecret motives that influence his conduct. I one day ſaw him, during a ſevere froſt, embracing, half naked, a brazen ſtatue. A Lacedæmonian aſked him if he ſuffered pain. No, ſaid the philoſopher. What merit is there then in what you do? replied the Lacedæmonian [i].

Diogenes poſſeſſes depth of underſtanding, firmneſs of mind, and livelineſs of character. He

[e] Laert. lib. 6, § 67.
[f] Id. ibid. § 22, et 23.
[g] Id. ibid. § 23, et 34.
[h] Id. ibid. § 22, et 66. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9, cap. 19.
[i] Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 233.

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delivers his doctrines with such perspicuity, and explains them with so much energy, that strangers have been seen to listen to him, and instantly abandon all to follow him[k]. Believing himself destined to reform mankind, he treats them without the smallest deference. His system leads him to inveigh against vices and abuses, and his character unrelentingly to pursue those who are guilty of them. He never ceases to attack them with the weapons of satire, and an irony a thousand times more formidable. The freedom that reigns in his discourses, renders him agreeable to the people[l]. He is admitted into good company which he serves to enliven by ready repartees[m], sometimes happily hit off, and at all times frequent, for he hesitates at nothing. Young people court his company to make trials of pleasantry, and avenge themselves of his superiority by insults[n], which he supports with the most mortifying tranquillity. I have often seen him reproach them with expressions and actions that put modesty to the blush[o], which inclines me to believe that he has never himself been guilty of those excesses his enemies impute to him[p]. His indecency lies rather in the man-

[k] Laert. lib. 6, § 75.
[l] Id. ibid. § 43.
[m] Id. ibid. § 74.
[n] Id. ibid. § 33, et 41.
[o] Id. ibid. § 46, 47, 65, 66, &c.
[p] Plut. de Stoic. p. 1044. Laert. ibid. § 46, et 69.

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ner than in any thing really offenſive to good morals [q]. Eminent talents, great virtues, and prodigious efforts, will never make more of him than a ſingular man; and I ſhall always ſubſcribe to the judgment of Plato, who ſaid of him: "He is Socrates in a phrenſy [r]."

At this moment we ſaw a man paſs, who was walking ſlowly at a ſmall diſtance from us. He appeared to be about forty, and had a melancholy and penſive air, with his hand in his mantle [s]. Though his external appearance was extremely ſimple, Apollodorus flew to accoſt him with a reſpect mingled with admiration and ſenſibility, and returning to ſit down by me: That, ſaid he, is Phocion, a name that ſhould for ever awaken in your mind the idea of integrity itſelf [t]. His birth is obſcure [u], but his ſoul is truly ſublime. He early frequented the academy [x], where he imbibed thoſe ſublime principles which have ſince guided his conduct; principles engraven on his heart, and as immutable as that truth and juſtice from which they are derived.

On leaving the academy he ſerved under Chabrias, whoſe impetuoſity he moderated, and who

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[q] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 881.
[r] Ælian. lib. 14, cap. 33.
[s] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 743.
[t] Nep. in Phoc. cap. 1. Ælian. lib. 3, cap. 47. lib. 4, cap. 16. Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1131.
[u] Ælian. lib. 12, cap. 43.
[x] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 743.

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was in a great measure indebted to him for his victory at Naxos[y]. He has also found other opportunities to prove he possesses great military talents. In peace he cultivates a little farm[z], that would scarcely supply the wants of a man the most moderate in his desires, but which furnishes Phocion with a superfluity, with which he alleviates the wants of others[a]. He lives there with a spouse worthy of his love, because she merits his esteem; he lives there contented with his lot, neither ashamed nor vain of his poverty, courting no public employments[b], but accepting them to discharge their duties.

You will never see him either laugh or weep[c], though he is happy and susceptible; his strength of mind is superior to joy and grief. Be not dismayed at the dark cloud that seems to hang over his eyes. Phocion is affable, humane, and indulgent to our foibles. He is rigid and severe only to those who corrupt the public manners by their examples, or ruin the state by their evil counsels[d].

I am happy that chance has, in so short an interval, brought within your view Diogenes and Phocion. By comparing them, you will find that the

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[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744.
[z] Nep. in Phoc. cap. 1.
[a] Suid. in Φωκ.
[b] Plut. ibid. 745.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 743. Id. Apopht. t. ii. p. 187.
[d] Plut. in Phoc. p. 743, et 746.

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former never makes a ſacrifice to philoſophy without puſhing it too far, and proclaiming it to the public; whilſt the latter neither ſtudies to diſplay nor to conceal his virtues. I ſhall go farther, and aſſert that, at the firſt glance, you may decide which of the two men is the genuine philoſopher. Phocion's cloak is as coarſe as that of Diogenes; but the cloak of Diogenes is ragged, and that of Phocion is not.

After Phocion came two Athenians, one of whom was remarkable for his majeſtic ſtature, and a commanding countenance [e]. That man, ſaid Apollodorus to me, is the ſon of a ſhoemaker [f], and ſon-in-law of Cotys, king of Thrace [g]. His name is Iphicrates; the other is the ſon of Conon, who was one of the greateſt men of the age, and is named Timotheus.

Both of them, placed at the head of our armies, have, for a long ſeries of years, maintained the glory of the republic [h]; both have ſhewn themſelves capable of uniting information with talents, reflection with experience, and ſtratagem with bravery [i]. Iphicrates more eſpecially diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſtrict diſcipline he introduced among

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[e] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3.
[f] Plut. Apopht. t. ii. p. 186.
[g] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3.
[h] Id. in Timoth. cap. 4.
[i] Polyæn. Stratag. l. 3, c. 9, et 10. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 589.

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our troops, by the prudence that directed his enterprizes, and a ſcrupulous diffidence which has always kept him on his guard againſt the enemy[k]. He was much indebted to his reputation; and, therefore, when marching againſt the barbarians, he ſaid: "I am only afraid of one thing; that they have never heard of Iphicrates[l]."

Timotheus is more active[m], more patient, leſs ſkilful perhaps in forming projects, but endowed with more conſtancy and firmneſs when they are to be carried into execution. His enemies, to avoid acknowledging his merit, accuſed him of being lucky, and had him repreſented ſleeping under a tent, with Fortune hovering over his head, and collecting around him cities taken in a net. Timotheus was ſhewn the picture, and pleaſantly obſerved: "What ſhould I not do then were I awake[n]?"

Iphicrates has made ſome uſeful changes in the arms of the infantry[o]. Timotheus has often enriched the exhauſted treaſury with ſpoils taken from the enemy. It is true that he has alſo enriched himſelf[p]. The former has reſtored ſovereigns to their thrones[q]; the latter has compelled

[k] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 1. Plut. Apopht. t. ii. p. 187.
[l] Plut. ibid.
[m] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 1.
[n] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 454. Id. Apopht. t. ii. p. 187. Ælian. lib. 13, cap. 43.
[o] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 360.
[p] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 1.
[q] Id. in Iphicr. cap. 3.

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the Lacedæmonians to yield to us the empire of the ſea[r]. Both are endowed with the powers of oratory. The eloquence of Iphicrates is pompous and oſtentatious[s]; that of Timotheus more ſimple and perſuaſive[t]. We have erected ſtatues to them[u], and we ſhall one day perhaps ſend them into baniſhment.

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[r] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 2.
[s] Plut. de Rep. Ger. t. ii. p. 813.
[t] Ælian. lib. 3, cap. 16.
[u] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 2. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 24.

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CHAP. VIII.

The Lyceum.—Gymnaſia.—Iſocrates.—Paleſtræ.—Funerals of the Athenians.

ANOTHER day, at the inſtant that Apollodorus had called on me to propoſe a walk to the Lyceum, I ran to him, exclaiming: Do you know him? — Who? — Iſocrates. I have juſt been reading one of his harangues; I am enchanted with it. Is he ſtill alive? Where is he? What does he do?—He is in Athens, anſwered Apollodorus. He profeſſes eloquence. He is a celebrated man; I am acquainted with him. — I muſt ſee him to-day, this morning, this very inſtant.—We will call on him on our return from the Lyceum.

We paſſed by the quarter of the marſhes, and going out of the town by the gate of Ægeus, followed a path along the Iliſſus, which according to the difference of ſeaſons is an impetuous torrent, or peaceful rivulet, and ruſhes along with violence, or glides gently, at the foot of an eminence that terminates Mount Hymettus. Its banks are pleaſing, and its waters generally pure and limpid[x].

[x] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 229. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 121.

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In the environs we saw an altar dedicated to the muses[y]; the place whence Boreas is said to have carried off the beautiful Orithyia, daughter of king Erechtheus[z]; the temple of Ceres where the lesser mysteries are celebrated[a]; and that of Diana, where a great number of goats are annually sacrificed in honour of the goddess. Before the battle of Marathon, the Athenians had vowed to immolate as many of these animals as they should find Persians dead on the field. After the victory, perceiving that the performance of so inconsiderate a vow would soon exhaust the flocks of Attica, they limited the number of victims to five hundred[b], with which the goddess was pleased to be contented.

Whilst I was listening to these details, we discovered a number of peasants running on the hill and striking on brazen vessels, to attract a swarm of bees which had just left a hive[c].

These insects are extremely partial to Mount Hymettus, which they have filled with their colonies, and which is covered almost every where with wild thyme[d] and other odoriferous plants. But it

y Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 19, p. 45. Dionys. Perieg. v. 425.
z Plat. ibid. Pausan. ibid.
a Steph. in Ἄγρα.
b Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3, p. 301. Plut. de Herodot. Malign. t. ii. p. 862.
c Plat. de Leg. lib. 8, t. ii. p. 843.
d Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 6, cap. 7, p. 678. Plin. lib. 19, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 181.

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is chiefly from the excellent thyme it produces [e], that they extract thoſe precious ſweets with which they compoſe a honey in high eſtimation throughout Greece [f]. It is of a white colour, verging towards yellow; it grows black when long kept, and always retains its fluidity [g]. The Athenians gather a vaſt quantity every year; and we may judge of the value they ſet upon it from the uſe made of it by the Greeks, who employ honey in their paſtry [h], as well as in their ragouts [i]. It is ſaid even to prolong life, and to be particularly ſalutary for aged perſons [k]. Nay, I have ſeen ſome diſciples of Pythagoras preſerve their health, though they took no other nouriſhment than a little honey [l].

Repaſſing the Iliſſus, we came into a road where the Athenians exerciſe themſelves in the courſe, and which conducted us to the Lyceum [m].

The Athenians have three gymnaſia appropriated to the education of youth [n]; that of the

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[e] Antiph. apud Athen. lib. 1, cap. 22, p. 28. Alex. apud eund. lib. 14, p. 652.

[f] Plin. lib. 11, cap. 13, t. i. p. 596. Id. lib. 21, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 243. Varro de Re Ruſtic. lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 374. Colum. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 9, cap. 4.

[g] Geopon. lib. 15, cap. 7.

[h] Athen. lib. 3, cap. 25, p. 109. Id. lib. 14, p. 646.

[i] Heſych. in Τυρος.

[k] Geopon. ibid.

[l] Athen. lib. 2, cap. 7, p. 46. lib. 10, &c.

[m] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 476.

[n] Ulpian. in Timocr. p. 820.

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Lyceum, that of the Cynoſarges[o], ſituated on an eminence ſo called, and that of the Academy. All three have been built at the expence of the government, without the walls of the city. The ſecond was formerly ſet apart for illegitimate children[p].

They are ſpacious edifices, ſurrounded by gardens, and a ſacred grove. The firſt entrance is by a ſquare court, two ſtadia in circumference[q], which is encompaſſed with porticos and buildings. On three of its ſides are large halls, provided with ſeats, in which the philoſophers, rhetoricians, and ſophiſts, aſſemble their diſciples[r]. On the fourth are rooms for bathing, and other practices of the gymnaſium. The portico facing the ſouth is double, to prevent the winter rains, driven by the wind, from penetrating into the internal part.

From this court you paſs into an encloſure likewiſe ſquare, ſhaded in the middle by ſome plane-trees. A range of porticos extends round three of the ſides. That which fronts the north has a double row of columns, to ſhelter thoſe who walk there in ſummer from the ſun. The oppoſite portico is called Xyſtus[s]. In the middle of this portico,

[o] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 791. Liv. lib. 31, cap. 24. Laert. lib. 6, § 13.

[p] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 760. Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 112.

[q] Vitruv. lib. 5, cap. 11.

[r] Plat. Euthyp. t. i. p. 2. Iſocra. Panath. t. ii. p. 191. Demet. de Interp. § 111. Lucian. Dialog. Mort. t. i. p. 329.

[s] Xenoph. Œconom. lib. 5, p. 850.

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and through its whole length, they have contrived a ſort of hollow way, about twelve feet wide and nearly two deep, where, ſheltered from the weather, and ſeparated from the ſpectators ranged along the ſides, the young ſcholars exerciſe themſelves in wreſtling. Beyond the Xyſtus is a ſtadium for foot races [t].

A magiſtrate, named the gymnaſiarch, preſides at the different gymnaſia of Athens. His office is annual, and conferred on him by the general aſſembly of the ſtate [u]. It is his duty to furniſh the oil made uſe of by the athletæ to give ſuppleneſs to their limbs [x]. He has under him, in each gymnaſium, ſeveral officers, ſuch as the gymnaſtes, the paidotribes, and others; ſome of whom maintain order among the youth, and others teach them different exerciſes. At the head of theſe are ten ſophroniſts, nominated by the ten tribes, to whom the ſuperintendance of the morals of the youth is more eſpecially committed [y], and all of whom muſt be approved by the Areopagus [z].

As it is of the greateſt importance that confidence and ſecurity ſhould prevail in the gymnaſium, as well as in all numerous aſſemblies, theſts

[t] Vitruv. lib. 5, cap. 11.
[u] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 544.
[x] Ulpian. in Leptin. orat. p. 575.
[y] Stob. Serm. 5, p. 77.
[z] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 367.

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committed there are punished with death, when they exceed the value of ten drachmas [a].

The gymnasia being deemed the asylum of innocence and modesty, Solon had prohibited the people from entering them, at the time when the scholars, celebrating a festival in honour of Mercury [b], were less under the eye of their preceptors; but this regulation has fallen into disuse [c].

The exercises practised there are ordained by the laws, subject to certain regulations, and animated by the commendations of the masters, and still more by the emulation that subsists among the disciples. All Greece considers them as the most essential part of education, as they render men active, robust, and capable of supporting military labours, as well as the leisure hours of peace [d]. Considered relatively to health, physicians prescribe them with success [e]. Of their great utility in the military art, it is impossible to give a higher idea, than by citing the example of the Lacedæmonians. To these exercises were they indebted for those victories which once made them so formidable to other nations; and, in later times, in order to conquer, it was first necessary to equal them in the gymnastic discipline [f].

[a] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 791.
[b] Æschin. in Tim. p. 262.
[c] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 204, et 206.
[d] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 901.
[e] Hippocr. de Diæt. lib. 2, t. i. cap. 39, &c. lib. 3, cap. 25.
[f] Arist. de Rep. lib. 8, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 452. Plut. Sympos. lib. 2, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 639.

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But if the advantages resulting from this institution be eminent, its abuses are not less dangerous. Medicine and philosophy both concur in condemning these exercises, when they exhaust the body, or give more ferocity than courage to the mind [g].

The gymnasium of the Lyceum has been successively enlarged and embellished [h]. The walls are enriched with paintings [i]. Apollo is the tutelary deity of the place. His statue is at the entrance [k]; and the gardens, ornamented with beautiful alleys, were restored in the last years of my residence in Greece [l]. Those who walk there are invited to rest themselves, by seats placed under the trees [m].

After having been present at the exercises of the young men, and passing a few minutes in the public halls, where important and frivolous questions were alternately discussed, we took the road leading from the Lyceum to the Academy, along the walls of the city [n]. We had proceeded but a little way before we met with a venerable old man, whom Apollodorus seemed particularly glad to see. After the first compliments, he enquired

[g] Hippocr. ibid. lib. 3, t. i. cap. 28. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 410. Arist. de Rep. ib. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 151.

[h] Theopomp. et Philoch. ap. Suid. in Λύκ. Harpocr. in Λύκ. Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 29, p. 75.

[i] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7, p. 425.

[k] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 887. Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 19, p. 44.

[l] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 841.

[m] Lucian. ibid. p. 895.

[n] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 203.

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whither he was going. The old man answered, in a shrill tone of voice: I am going to dine at Plato's, with Ephorus and Theopompus, who are waiting for me at the gate of Dipylon.—That is exactly in our road, replied Apollodorus, we shall have the pleasure of your company. But, tell me, do you still continue then to love Plato[o]?—As much as I flatter myself I am beloved by him. Our intimacy, which originated in our childhood, has never suffered the smallest diminution. He has not forgotten it in one of his dialogues, in which he introduces Socrates speaking of me in most honourable terms[p]. — That praise was due to you. Every one remembers, that at the death of Socrates, whilst his disciples took to flight in consternation, you ventured to appear in mourning in the streets of Athens[q]. And but a few years before you had given another example of firmness. When Theramenes, proscribed by the thirty tyrants, in full senate, took refuge by the altar, you rose up in his defence; and was not he himself obliged to entreat you to spare him the affliction of seeing you perish with him[r]? The old man seemed delighted with this eulogium. I was impatient to learn his name,

[o] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 8.
[p] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 278.
[q] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 836.

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but Apollodorus took a pleaſure in concealing it from me.

Son of Theodorus, ſaid he to him, are not you of the ſame age with Plato? — I am ſix or ſeven years older[s]; he muſt only be in his ſixty-eighth year.—You appear to be in good health. — Excellent; I am as well in body and mind as it is poſſible to be[t].—They ſay you are very rich[u]? — I have acquired by my application enough to ſatisfy the deſires of a wiſe man[x]. My father had a manufactory of muſical inſtruments[y]. He was ruined in the Peloponneſian war, and leaving me no inheritance but an excellent education, I was under the neceſſity of living by my literary acquirements, and by turning to account the leſſons I had received from Gorgias, Prodicus, and the ableſt orators of Greece. I drew up pleadings for ſuch as were not able to defend their own cauſes[z]. A diſcourſe which I addreſſed to Nicocles, king of Cyprus, procured me a preſent from him of twenty talents *[a]. I opened a courſe of public lectures on oratory, and the

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[s] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3, cap. 4. Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 836.
[t] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184.
[u] Dionyſ. Halic. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 537.
[x] Iſocr. ibid.
[y] Plut. ibid. Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 534.
[z] Cicer. in Brut. t. i. p. 346.
* 108,000 livres (4,500l.)
[a] Plut. ibid. p. 838.

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number of my disciples daily increasing, I have reaped the fruit of labours which have employed every moment of my life.—Admit, however, that notwithstanding the severity of your manners, you have found time to dedicate some of these moments to pleasure. You had formerly the handsome Metanira, and in a more advanced age took to your house a no less amiable courtezan [b]. The world then said of you that you knew how to reconcile the maxims of philosophy with the refinements of voluptuousness, and talked of that sumptuous bed you procured to be made, and of those pillows which exhaled so delicious an odour [c]. The old man, smiling, did not deny these facts.

Apollodorus continued: You have an amiable family, good health, an easy fortune, and numberless disciples; your name you have rendered illustrious, and your virtues rank you among our most respectable citizens [d]; with so many advantages you must be the happiest man in Athens.—Alas! answered the old man, I am perhaps the most wretched of mortals. All my plan of happiness consisted in obtaining authority and influence in the state; but as, on the one hand, it is impossible to acquire weight in a democracy without taking part in public affairs, and Nature, on the other,

[b] Lys. Hermip. et Strat. ap. Athen. lib. 13, p. 592.
[c] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 839.
[d] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184.

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has given me but a feeble voice, and exceſſive timidity [e], it has ſo happened that, with a capacity every way equal to the diſcernment of the true intereſts of the ſtate, but incapable of defending them in the general aſſembly, I have been always violently tormented with the ambition and impoſſibility of being uſeful, or, if you will, of obtaining influence [f]. The Athenians receive leſſons of eloquence from me gratuitouſly; foreigners for one thouſand drachmas. I would give a million to the man who could procure me a proper portion of courage with a ſonorous voice.—But you have repaired the injuries of Nature; by your writings you inſtruct that public you cannot reach with your oratory, and who are unable to refuſe you their eſteem.—And what ſignifies to me the eſteem of others, if I cannot obtain my own? I ſometimes carry the mean idea I entertain of my own abilities even to contempt [h]. What advantage have I derived from them? Have I ever been able to obtain public employments, the offices of magiſtracy, or the applauſe and honours which I daily ſee beſtowed on thoſe baſe orators who betray the ſtate [i]? Though my panegyric on Athens made

[e] Iſocr. Epiſt. ad Phil. t. i. p. 270. Id. Epiſt. ad Mityl. t. i. p. 487. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 3, t. i. p. 194.
[f] Iſocr. Panath. t. 2. p. 185.
[g] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
[h] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 189.

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thoſe rhetoricians bluſh who had before treated the ſame ſubject, and diſcouraged others from again attempting it [k], I have always ſpoken of my ſucceſſes with modeſty, or rather with humility [l]. My intentions are pure; I have never, either by writings or accuſations, done injury to any man; yet I have enemies [m].—What then! muſt not you expect to pay the tribute of your merit by ſome diſquietudes? Your enemies are more to be pitied than yourſelf. An unwelcome voice perpetually reminds them that kings, generals, ſtateſmen, hiſtorians, and authors in every branch of literature, are numbered among your diſciples [n]; that whole colonies of learned and ingenious men from time to time iſſue from your ſchool, who ſpread your doctrines far and wide; that you govern Greece by your pupils [o]; and, to make uſe of your own expreſſion, that you are the ſtone that whets the inſtrument.—True; but it is not the ſtone that cuts [p].

But envy, added Apollodorus, cannot at leaſt deny that you have promoted and improved the art of oratory [q].—Yet this is the merit of which

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[k] Iſocr. de Antid. t. ii. p. 404.
[l] Id. Panath. t. ii. p. 192.
[m] Id. de Antid. p. 386, 390, &c.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 388.
[o] Cicer. Orat. cap. 13, t. i. p. 429. Dionyſ. Halicar. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 536.
[p] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
[q] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 22, p. 214. Id. Orat. cap. 13, p. 429, cap. 52, p. 464. Naucrat. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 44, p. 321.

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they likewiſe wiſh to rob me. Every day a ſet of audacious ſophiſts, and ungrateful teachers, after inculcating on their ſcholars precepts and examples borrowed from my writings, renew their attacks on my reputation with redoubled ardour. They employ themſelves on ſubjects that I have handled, and aſſembling around them their partizans, compare their diſcourſes with mine, which they have taken the precaution to metamorphoſe, and are mean enough to diſfigure in the recital. Such cruel ingratitude wounds me to the quick[r]. But I perceive Ephorus and Theopompus. I am going to accompany them to Plato's, and muſt take my leave of you.

The inſtant he was gone, turning haſtily round to Apollodorus, I aſked him, Who then is this old man, at once ſo modeſt and ſo vain; ſo wretched, though poſſeſſing ſo many of the eſſentials of happineſs? This is Iſocrates, ſaid he, whom we were to viſit on our return. By my queſtions I led him on to trace out to you the leading features of his life and character. You have ſeen that he twice gave proofs of courage in his youth. This effort, apparently, exhauſted the vigour of his mind; for he has paſſed the remainder of his days in apprehenſion and chagrin. The very ſight of the roſtrum, which he has prudently

[r] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 190. Id. Epiſt. ad Philip. t. i. p. 277.

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renounced, gives him such uneasiness, that he no longer attends at the general assemblies[s]. He imagines himself surrounded by enemies and envious persons, because a cabal of authors whom he despises judge less favourably of his writings than himself. It is his fate to be perpetually in the pursuit of fame, and never to know repose[t].

Unfortunately for him, his works, abounding in other respects with great beauties, furnish powerful weapons for criticism; his style is pure and fluent, full of softness and harmony, sometimes pompous and magnificent, but occasionally languid, diffuse, and overcharged with ornaments, by which it is disfigured[u].

His eloquence is not calculated for the discussions of popular assemblies, nor for the bar[x]; its object is to sooth the ear rather than to affect the heart. It is painful to see so estimable an author often sink into the mere sonorous writer, reducing his art to the single merit of eloquence[y]; laboriously subjecting his thoughts to words[z]; avoiding the concourse of vowels with a puerile affectation[a];

[s] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
[t] Isocr. Panath. t. i. p. 184, et 187.
[u] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 7, t. i. p. 286. Dionys. Halic. de Isoer. t. v. p. 537.
[x] Dionys. Halic. ibid. t. v. p. 539. Cicer. Orat. cap. 12, t. i. p. 429.
[y] Arist. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 35, t. i. p. 313.
[z] Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 558.
[a] Quintil. lib. 9, cap. 4, p. 593. Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 538. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. § 68.

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attentive only to the rounding of his periods, and, as his only resource to produce symmetry in their component members, driven to fill them up with redundant words and misplaced figures [b]. As he does not sufficiently diversify his style, his reader at last becomes cold and disgusted. He is a painter who gives the same drapery and the same attitudes to all his figures [c].

His discourses generally turn on the most important topics of morals and politics [d]. He neither persuades nor carries his reader along with him, for he does not write with warmth, and seems more attentive to his art than the truths he is announcing [e]. Hence possibly it happens that sovereigns, of whom he has in some sort made himself the legislator [f], have replied to his counsels by rewards. He has composed, on the duty of kings, a little work, which he has procured to be circulated through every court. It was sent to Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse [g], who admired the author, and easily pardoned him lessons from which he felt no remorse.

Isocrates has grown old in composing, polishing,

[b] Cic. Orat. cap. 12, t. i. p. 429. Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 350. Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 540. Hermog. de Form. lib. 2, p. 388.
[c] Philon. ap. Dionys. Halic. de Isocr. t. v. p. 559.
[d] Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 535.
[e] Hermog. de Formis, lib. 1, p. 294, et lib. 2, p. 388.
[f] Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 55. Aphton. Progymn. p. 4.
[g] Isocr. Orat. ad Phil. t. i. p. 269. Socratic. Epist. p. 66.

repolishing,

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repoliſhing, and recompoſing a very inconſiderable number of works. His panegyric of Athens is ſaid to have coſt him ten years application [h]. Whilſt employed in this laborious ſtructure, he did not perceive that he was erecting it on foundations which muſt inevitably occaſion its ruin. He lays it down as a principle, that it is the nature of eloquence to magnify little things, and to diminiſh great ones; and afterwards endeavours to prove that the Athenians have rendered more ſervice to Greece than the Lacedæmonians [i].

Notwithſtanding theſe faults, to which his enemies add many others, his writings preſent us with ſo many happy turns, and ſalutary maxims, that they will always ſerve as models for thoſe who are qualified to ſtudy them. He is an able rhetorician, deſtined to form excellent writers, and an enlightened teacher, attentive to the improvement of his diſciples, and to the character of their genius. Ephorus of Cumæ, and Theopompus of Chios, who have juſt taken him from us, have had a happy experience of this. After inſpiring the firſt with energy, and repreſſing the impetuoſity of the latter [k], he has recommended to them both to

[h] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 350. Quintil. lib. 10, cap. 4. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1455.

[i] Longin. de Subl. § 38.

[k] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 9, t. i, p. 288. Idem de Clar. Orat. cap. 56, p. 383. Quintil. lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 105. Suid. in Ἔφορ.

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write history [l], and their first essays do honour to the sagacity of the master, and the abilities of the pupils.

Whilst Apollodorus was informing me of these particulars we crossed the forum. He then conducted me by the street of the Hermæ, and brought me into the palæstra of Taureas, facing the Royal Portico [m] *.

As Athens possesses different gymnasia, it contains likewise several palæstræ. In the former of these schools youth pursue their exercises; the latter are set apart for athletæ by profession. We saw a number of these who had carried off the prizes in the games instituted in the different cities of Greece, and others who were aspiring to the same honours. Many Athenians, and even old men [n], assiduously resort thither, to continue their exercises, or be spectators of the combats.

The palæstræ are nearly of the same form with the gymnasia. We visited the apartments appropriated to all the species of baths; those where the wrestlers leave their clothes, where they rub their bodies with oil to render their limbs supple, and where they roll themselves in the sand in order to give their antagonists a hold [o].

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[l] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 13, t. i. p. 205.
[m] Plat. in Charmid. t. ii. p. 153.
* See plan of the palæstra.
[n] Id. de Rep. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 452.
[o] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. Hist. p. 99.

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Wreſtling, leaping, tennis, and all the exerciſes of the Lyceum, were here repeated before us with greater varieties, and with more ſtrength and ſkill on the part of the performers.

Among the different groups before us, we diſtinguiſhed men of the moſt perfect beauty, and worthy of ſerving as models for artiſts; ſome with vigorous and boldly marked outlines, as Hercules is repreſented; and others of a more ſlim and elegant ſhape, as Achilles is deſcribed. The former, devoting themſelves to wreſtling and boxing, had no object but to increaſe their bodily ſtrength [p]; the latter, educated to leſs violent exerciſes, ſuch as running, leaping, &c. confined themſelves to acquirements of agility.

Their regimen is ſuited to the different exerciſes for which they are deſigned. Some of them abſtain from women [q] and wine; others lead a very abſtemious life; but thoſe who make laborious exertions ſtand in need of a great quantity of ſubſtantial food, ſuch as roaſted beef and pork, to reſtore their ſtrength [r]. If they require only two minæ a day, with bread in proportion, they give a very favourable idea of their temperance [s]. But ſeveral

[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 410.
[q] Id. de Leg. lib. 8, t. ii. p. 840.
[r] Hipp. Epid. lib. 5, t. i. p. 788. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 411. Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1028. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. p. 221.
[s] Galen. de Dignot. Puls. lib. 2, cap. 2. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 221, &c.

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are mentioned who have made a terrible consumption of provisions. Theagenes of Thasos, for instance, is said to have eaten a whole ox in a day [t]. The same exploit is attributed to Milo of Crotona, whose usual quantity of food for a day was twenty minæ of meat, as many of bread *, and three congii of wine † [u]. It is said likewise that Astydamas of Miletus, when at the table of Ariobarzanes the Persian satrap, devoured alone the supper prepared for nine guests [x]. These stories, no doubt exaggerated, prove at least the idea generally entertained of the voracity of this class of wrestlers. When they are able to gratify it without danger, they acquire extraordinary strength: their stature becomes sometimes gigantic, and their adversaries, struck with terror, either decline entering the lists, or sink under the weight of their enormous bodies.

They are so oppressed by excess of nutriment as to be obliged to pass part of their lives in a profound sleep [y], and soon become so extremely corpulent as to be no longer known to be the same persons [z]: this is succeeded by disorders which render them as wretched, as they have always been unserviceable to their country [a]; for it

[t] Poseidip. ap. Athen. lib. 10, cap. 2, p. 412.
* About 18 pounds.
† About 15 French pints (or English quarts nearly).
[u] Theodor. ap. Athen. ibid.
[x] Athen. ibid. p. 413.
[y] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 404.
[z] Aristot. de Gener. lib. 4, cap. 3, p. 1121.
[a] Euripid. ap. Athen. lib. 10, cap. 2, p. 413.

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cannot be denied that wreſtling, boxing, and all thoſe combats diſputed with ſo much fury and obſtinacy in the public ſolemnities, are no longer any thing but oſtentatious exhibitions, ſince tactics have been brought to perfection. Egypt at no time adopted them, as they give only a temporary ſtrength [b]. Lacedæmon has corrected their inconveniences by the wiſdom of her inſtitutions. In the other ſtates of Greece men have diſcovered that, by ſubjecting their children to them, they incur the riſk of injuring their ſhape, and preventing their growth [c]; and that, in a more advanced age, profeſſed wreſtlers never make good ſoldiers, becauſe they are unable to ſupport hunger, thirſt, watching, the ſmalleſt wants, or the moſt trifling deviation from their uſual habits [d].

On coming out of the palæſtra, we learnt that Telaira, the wife of Pyrrhus, a relation and friend of Apollodorus, had been ſuddenly taken ill, and that her life was in imminent danger; the branches of laurel and acanthus, which it is cuſtomary to ſuſpend at the houſe of a ſick perſon, had been ſeen at her door [e]. We immediately haſtened thither, and found the relations of the family crowding around her bed, and addreſſing prayers to Mercury, the

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 73.
[c] Ariſtot. lib. 8, cap. 4, t. ii, p. 452.
[d] Plut. in Philop. t. i. p. 357.
[e] Laert. in Bion. lib. 4, § 57. Etymolog. Magn. in Αντήν. Bod. in Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 3, cap. 17, p. 258.

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conductor of departed spirits[f], while the unhappy Pyrrhus was taking his last farewell of his affectionate wife[g]. With difficulty he was forced away from this scene. We strove to remind him of the lessons which he had received at the academy, those lessons so specious in prosperity, but so impertinent in affliction. "O philosophy," exclaimed he, "yesterday thou commandedst me to love my wife, to-day thou forbiddest me to lament her[h]!" Yet, after all, said we to him, your tears cannot restore her to life. "Alas!" replied he, "that reflection only makes them flow faster[i]."

As soon as she expired, the whole house resounded with cries and lamentations. The body was washed, perfumed with odoriferous essences, and clothed in a costly garment[k]. On her head, which was covered with a veil, was placed a chaplet of flowers[l]; in her hands a cake of flower and honey, to appease Cerberus[m]; and in her mouth a piece of money, of the value of one or two oboli, to pay Charon[n]; and in this state she lay exposed

[f] Homer. Odyss. lib. 24, v. 9. Etymolog. Magn. in Ἐξόδ.
[g] Eurip. in Alcest. v. 391.
[h] Stob. Serm. 97, p. 539.
[i] Id. Serm. 122, p. 613.
[k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 24, v. 587. Id. in Odyss. lib. 24, vers. 44. Eurip. in Phœniss. v. 1626, et 1329. Id. in Alcest. v. 158. Sophocl. in Electr. v. 1145. Lucian. de Luct. t. ii. p. 926.
[l] Eurip. in Hippol. v. 1458.
[m] Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 601. Schol. ib. Id. in Eccles. v. 534.
[n] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 140. Schol. ib. v. 272. Lucian. ibid. Epigr. Lucil. in Anthol. p. 268.

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for a whole day in the veſtibule of the houſe. At the door ſtood a veſſel of luſtral water, to purify thoſe who might touch the corpſe [o].

This expoſure is deemed neceſſary to aſcertain that the perſon is really deceaſed [p], and died a natural death [q]. It is ſometimes continued even to the third day [r].

The time of the funeral was announced; which we were obliged to attend before ſun riſe [s], the laws prohibiting the choice of any other hour, that a ceremony ſo mournful may not degenerate into a ſcene of oſtentation. The friends and relations were invited [t]. We found women about the coffin making loud lamentations [u]; ſome of whom cut off locks of their hair, and laid them by the ſide of Telaira, as pledges of their affection and grief [x]. The body was placed on a car, in a coffin of cypreſs wood [y]. The women followed the corpſe; the men walked before it [z], ſome with their

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[o] Eurip. in Alceſt. v. 100. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 1025. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 7, § 65. Heſych. in Ἀφ. Caſaub. in Theophraſt. cap. 16.

[p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 12, p. 959.

[q] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 7, § 65.

[r] Jungerm. in Poll. lib. 8. cap. 14, § 146.

[s] Demoſth. in Macart. Callim. Epigr. in Anthol. lib. 3, p. 377.

[t] Ariſtot. de Morib. lib. 9, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 118.

[u] Eurip. in Alceſt. v. 105.

[x] Id. v. 102. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 1192. Kirchm. de Funerib. lib. 2, cap. 13, et 15.

[y] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 34.

[z] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1037. Lyſ. de Cæde Eratoſt. p. 5. Terent. in Andr. act. 1, ſcen. 1, v. 90.

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heads ſhaved, but all with downcaſt eyes, and clothed in black [a]. They were preceded by a band of muſicians, who played and ſung melancholy airs [b]. We afterward repaired to a houſe belonging to Pyrrhus near Phalerum, where the aſhes of his anceſtors were depoſited [c].

The practice of interring dead bodies was anciently common to moſt nations [d], that of burning them has in later times prevailed among the Greeks [e]; at preſent it ſeems to be conſidered as a matter of indifference whether we reſtore our remains to the earth, or commit them to the flames [f]. The body of Telaira was laid on a pile, and when conſumed, the neareſt relations collected the aſhes [g], and buried the urn which contained them in the ground.

During the ceremony libations of wine were made. Some of the garments of Telaira were thrown into the fire, while her name was invoked aloud [h]; and this eternal valediction redoubled

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[a] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 449. Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1438, et 1449.

[b] Homer. Iliad. lib. 24, v. 721. Euſtath. p. 1372. Plat. de Leg. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 800. Athen. lib. 14, cap. 3, p. 619.

[c] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040. Id. in Callicl. p. 1117.

[d] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, c. 22, t. iii. p. 155. Kirchm. de Funer. lib. 1, cap. 2.

[e] Homer. paſſim. Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 52. Terent. in Andr. act. 1, ſcen. 1. Lucian. de Luct. c. 21, t. ii. p. 932.

[f] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 115.

[g] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23, v. 352. Id. lib. 24, v. 793.

[h] Id. lib. 23, v. 221.

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thoſe tears which had never ceaſed to flow from every eye.

We were next ſummoned to the funeral repaſt, where the converſation turned on the virtues of Telaira [i]. On the ninth and thirtieth days her relations, habited in white and crowned with flowers, again aſſembled to pay new honours to her manes [k]; and it was reſolved that they ſhould meet annually, on her birth-day, to lament her loſs, as if it were ſtill recent. This affectionate anniverſary is frequently perpetuated in a family, in a ſociety of friends, and among the diſciples of the ſame philoſopher [l]. The regret teſtified on theſe occaſions is renewed at the general feſtival of the dead, which is celebrated in the month Antheſterion * [m]. I have more than once likewiſe ſeen individuals approach a tomb, leave there a part of their hair, and make around it libations of water, wine, milk, and honey [n].

Leſs attentive to the origin of theſe rites than to the ſentiment by which they are preſerved, I could not but admire the wiſdom of the ancient legiſlators, who taught that ſepulture and its attendant cere-

[i] Homer. Iliad. lib. 24, v. 802. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 520. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.

[k] Iſæus de Cyron. Hæred. p. 73. Poll. lib. 3, cap. 19, § 101. Id. lib. 1, cap. 7, § 66. Id. lib. 8, cap. 14, § 146. Jungerm. ibid.

[l] Meurſ. Græc. Fer. in Γυίς.

* Corresponding with our months of February and March.

[m] Meurſ. Græc. Fer. in Νεκύς.

[n] Pott. Archæol. lib. 4, cap. 5, et 8.

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monies are to be considered as things sacred. They encouraged that ancient opinion, that the soul, having left its habitation the body, is stopped on the banks of the Styx, tormented with the desire of reaching the place of its destination, and that it appears in dreams to the survivors, who should interest themselves in its fate, until they shall have withdrawn its mortal relics from the eye of day, and the injuries of the weather [o].

Hence that anxiety to procure it the desired repose; hence the injunction imposed on the traveller to cover with earth a corpse which he may find upon his road [p]; and hence the profound veneration in which tombs are held, and the severe laws against all who violate them.

Hence also the ceremonies practised with respect to those who are swallowed up in the waves, or die in foreign countries, when it is impossible to recover their bodies. Their companions, previous to their departure, thrice invoke them with a loud voice, and by sacrifices and libations flatter themselves that they have brought back their manes [q], to which they sometimes erect cenotaphs, a kind of funeral monuments held in almost equal veneration with tombs.

Among the citizens who enjoyed an easy for-

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23, v. 83. Eustath. ibid.

[p] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 262. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5, cap. 14.

[q] Homer. Odyss. lib. 1, v. 64. Eustath. ibid. p. 1614. Pind. Pyth. 4, v. 283. Schol. ibid.

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tune when alive, ſome, conformably with ancient uſage, have only a ſmall column erected over their aſhes, with their name inſcribed on it; others, in contempt of the laws which condemn oſtentation and all pretenſions to fictitious ſorrow, perpetuate the memory of their deceaſed relations by elegant and magnificent ſtructures, ornamented with ſtatues, and embelliſhed by the arts[r]. I have ſeen a ſimple freed man expend two talents * for a monument to his wife[s].

Between the paths in which men ſtray, either from the exceſs or the default of ſentiment, the laws have pointed out a track from which no citizen is allowed to deviate. They exclude from the firſt dignities of the magiſtracy the ungrateful ſon, who at the death of the authors of his being has neglected the duties of nature and religion[t]. They command all perſons attending at a funeral to reſpect decency even in their expreſſions of affliction and deſpair. Let no one, ſay they, infuſe terror into the minds of the ſpectators, by piercing ſhrieks and terrifying lamentations; above all, let not the women tear their faces as was formerly the cuſtom[u]. Who would imagine that it would ever be neceſſary to compel the latter to be careful of the preſervation of their beauty?

[r] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 18, p. 43.
* 10,800 livres (450 l.)
[s] Demoſth. in Steph. 1, p. 980.
[t] Xenoph. Memor, p. 743.
[u] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 25, p. 158.

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CHAP. IX.

Journey to Corinth.—Xenophon.—Timoleon.

ON our arrival in Greece, we had learned that the Eleans having taken poſſeſſion of a ſmall town in Peloponneſus, called Scillus, where Xenophon reſided, he had removed with his ſons to Corinth [x]. Timagenes was impatient to ſee him. We ſet out therefore, taking with us Philotas, whoſe family was on terms of hoſpitality with that of Timodemus, one of the moſt ancient houſes of Corinth [y]. We traverſed Eleuſis, Megaris, and the Iſthmus, but were too much hurried to attend to the objects we met with on our journey.

Timodemus himſelf conducted us to the houſe of Xenophon. He was from home, but we found him in a neighbouring temple, offering up a ſacrifice. All eyes were fixed on him, but his on no perſon; for he appeared in preſence of the gods with the ſame reſpect with which he inſpired men. I contemplated him with the livelieſt emotion,

[x] Laert. in Xenoph. lib. 2, § 53.
[y] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237.

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He appeared to be about ſeventy or ſeventy-five, and his countenance ſtill retained veſtiges of that beauty for which he had been remarkable in his youth [z].

The ceremony was ſcarcely ended before Timagenes threw himſelf on his neck; and, unable to tear himſelf from him, called him, with a broken voice, his general, his ſaviour, his friend. Xenophon ſurveyed him with aſtoniſhment, and endeavoured to recognize features of which he had ſome recollection, but which were no longer familiar to him. At length he exclaimed: You are certainly Timagenes? Ah! who elſe could preſerve ſuch tender ſentiments after ſo long an abſence? You make me feel at this moment how delicious it is to ſee friends revive from whom we ſeemed to be ſeparated for ever. Tender embraces followed this acknowledgment; and, during the whole of our ſtay at Corinth, mutual explanations formed the topic of their frequent converſations.

Born in a town of Attica, and educated in the ſchool of Socrates, Xenophon in his early years bore arms in the ſervice of his country. He then entered as a volunteer in the army aſſembled by the younger Cyrus to dethrone his brother Arta-

[z] Laert. lib. 2, § 48.

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xerxes, king of Perſia [a]. After the death of Cyrus, he was entruſted, conjointly with four other officers, with the command of the Grecian troops [b]; and it was then they made that beautiful retreat, as greatly to be admired in its kind, as the relation he has given us of it is in point of compoſition. On his return, he entered into the ſervice of Ageſilaus, king of Lacedæmon, in whoſe glory he ſhared, and whoſe friendſhip he merited [c]. Some time after, the Athenians ſentenced him to baniſhment, jealous no doubt of the preference he had given to the Lacedæmonians [d]. But the latter, to compenſate for the harſh treatment he ſuffered from his countrymen, beſtowed on him an habitation at Scillus [e].

In this happy retirement he had ſpent ſeveral years, and propoſed returning to it as ſoon as the troubles of Peloponneſus ſhould be appeaſed.

During our ſtay at Corinth, I contracted an intimacy with his two ſons, Gryllus and Diodorus, and a ſtill ſtricter friendſhip with Timoleon, the ſecond ſon of Timodemus, at whoſe houſe we reſided.

Were I to ſketch the portrait of Timoleon, I ſhould paſs over the undaunted courage he has diſ-

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[a] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3, p. 294.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 299.
[c] Laert. lib. 2, § 51. Nep. in Ageſil. cap. 1.
[d] Laert. ibid.
[e] Dinarch. ap. Laert. lib 2, § 52.

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played in battle, for among warlike nations that is no diſtinction until carried to exceſs it ceaſes to be a virtue; but to exhibit all the qualities of his mind, I ſhould content myſelf with enumerating the moſt eminent: that conſummate prudence, which in him preceded maturity; his admirable moderation when his own intereſts were the ſubject of diſcuſſion, and his unſhaken firmneſs when thoſe of his country were in queſtion; his unalterable hatred of the deſpotiſm of ambition, and the tyranny of bad examples [f]; and I ſhould render his eulogium complete, by adding, that no man more reſembled Epaminondas, whom by a ſecret inſtinct he had adopted for his model [g].

Timoleon was happy in the public eſteem and the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, when the enthuſiaſm of his virtue alienated from him almoſt every friend, and rendered him the moſt miſerable of men. His brother, Timophanes, who poſſeſſed neither his knowledge nor his rectitude of principle, had collected around him a number of corrupt men, who were perpetually urging him to make himſelf maſter of the ſupreme authority, and finally wrought him into a perſuaſion that his titles were well founded. A blind and preſumptuous courage had procured him the confidence of the Corinthians, whoſe armies he had more than

[f] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 459.
[g] Plut. ibid. p. 253.

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once commanded, and who placed him at the head of four hundred men, maintained for the internal ſecurity of the city. Timophanes converted theſe men into his perſonal guards; gained over the populace by largeſſes; and, ſeconded by a formidable party, aſſumed the ſovereignty, and dragged the citizens he ſuſpected to the ſcaffold [h].

Till now, Timoleon had only kept a watchful eye over his conduct and his projects. In hopes to reclaim him, he endeavoured to throw a veil over his faults, and to heighten the luſtre of ſome noble actions which he had by accident performed. He had been even ſeen to precipitate himſelf, in battle, regardleſs of danger, amidſt the enemy, and ſingly to ſuſtain their joint attacks, to reſcue a brother whom he loved, and whoſe body, covered with wounds, was on the point of falling into their hands [i].

Indignant at length at ſeeing tyranny eſtabliſhed in his life-time, and in the very boſom of his family, he painted in lively colours to Timophanes the horror he felt at the crimes he had already committed, and thoſe which he ſtill meditated; conjuring him immediately to abdicate an odious power, and to make atonement to the manes of the victims ſacrificed to his mad ambition. Some days after, he again repaired to his apartment, accom-

[h] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237.
[i] Id. ibid.

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panied by two of their friends, one of them the brother-in-law of Timophanes; they reiterate their united entreaties, and conjure him by the endearing ties of blood, of friendſhip, and of his country: Timophanes at firſt anſwered them with the moſt inſulting deriſion, and at length broke out into menaces and rage. It had been previouſly concerted that a poſitive refuſal on his part ſhould be the ſignal of his deſtruction. His two friends, wearied with his reſiſtance, plunged a dagger in his breaſt, whilſt Timoleon, with his head covered with his robe, remained overwhelmed with grief and diſſolved in tears in a corner of the apartment [k], to which he had retired.

I cannot, without ſhuddering, think of that fatal moment when we heard thoſe piercing cries, thoſe terrifying words re-echo through the houſe: Timophanes is dead; his brother-in-law has killed him; he is murdered by his brother. We happened at that inſtant to be with Demariſte, his mother; his father was from home. Caſting my eyes on this unhappy woman, I ſaw her hair ſtand erect upon her head, and horror painted on her countenance amidſt the ſhades of death. When ſhe had recovered the uſe of her ſenſes, ſhe uttered, without ſhedding a ſingle tear, the moſt horrid imprecations againſt Timoleon, who was denied

[k] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237. Nep. in Timol. cap. 1.

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even the feeble consolation of hearing them from her mouth. Shutting herself up in her apartment, she vowed never more to behold the murderer of her son [l].

Among the Corinthians, some considered the assassination of Timophanes as an heroic, and others as an atrocious deed. The former thought they could never sufficiently extol the exalted courage which could sacrifice the ties of nature and friendship to the public good. The greater part, however, though they approved of the destruction of the tyrant [m], added, that every citizen had a right to take away his life, except his brother. This transaction was followed by a tumult which was soon appeased, and an accusation preferred against Timoleon, from which he was acquitted [n].

The judgment he passed on himself was more rigorous. No sooner did he perceive that what he had done was condemned by the greater number, than he doubted of his own innocence, and resolved to renounce life. His friends, by their entreaties and attention, at length prevailed on him to take some nourishment; but he could not be persuaded to remain with them. He quitted Corinth, and wandered for several years in solitary places, en-

[l] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 459.

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tirely abandoned to his grief, bitterly deploring the errors of his virtue, and ſometimes the ingratitude of the Corinthians °.

We ſhall one day ſee him again make his appearance with more luſtre, and beſtow happineſs on a great empire which owed to him its liberty.

The troubles occaſioned by the murder of his brother haſtened our departure. We took leave of Xenophon with great regret. I again met with him, a few years after, at Scillus; and, at a proper time, ſhall give you an account of the converſations I then had with him. His two ſons accompanied us, with intention to ſerve in the troops the Athenians were preparing to ſend to the Lacedæmonians.

In our road we fell in with a great number of travellers, who were repairing to Athens, to be preſent at the greater Dionyſia, one of the moſt celebrated feſtivals of that city. Beſides the gratification I expected for my curioſity in the magnificence of the other ſpectacles, I was extremely deſirous to be preſent at a competition that had long been cuſtomary at this time, in which poets vied with each other, and preſented new tragedies and comedies. We arrived on the 5th of the month Elaphebolion *, and the feſtival was to commence in eight days †.

° Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238. Nep. ibid. cap. 1.

* The firſt of April of the year 362 before J. C.

† See note at the end of the volume.

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CHAP. X.

Levies, Review, and Exercise of the Troops.

TWO days after our arrival, we repaired to a place where the levy of the troops intended to be sent into Peloponnesus was to be made. They were to form a junction with those of the Lacedæmonians, and some other states, to oppose, conjointly with them, the projects of the Thebans and their allies [p]. Hegelochus [q], the strategus or general, was seated on a raised seat [r]: Near him a taxiarch [s] or general officer held the register in which were inscribed the names of the citizens, who being of sufficient age to carry arms [t] were summoned to attend at this tribunal. He called over the names aloud, and noted down those whom the general had chosen [u].

The Athenians are bound to serve from the age

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[p] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7, p. 642. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 391.

[q] Diodor. Sic. p. 393.

[r] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746.

[s] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1172.

[t] Id. in Equit. v. 366. Schol. ibid. Suid. et Hesych. in Κατάλ. Argum. Orat. Demosth. Adv. Olymp. p. 1064.

[u] Lys. in Alcib. p. 275. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 115.

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of eighteen to that of sixty [x], but citizens of an advanced age are rarely required to serve [y]; and when those who are very young are chosen, care is taken to station them at a distance from the posts most exposed [z]. Sometimes the government fixes the age of the recruits [a], and sometimes they are drawn for by lot [b].

Such as farm the public imposts, or perform in the choruses at the festivals of Bacchus, are exempted from service [c]; and it is only on urgent occasions that the slaves [d], the foreigners settled in Attica, and the poorest of the citizens, are obliged to take the field [e]. These are very seldom enrolled, because they have not taken the oath to defend the country, or because they are supposed to have no interest in it to defend. The law confides this important trust only to citizens possessing some property; and the wealthiest serve only as common soldiers. Hence it happens that the loss of a battle, by enfeebling the higher classes, contributes to give the inferior ones a superiority which may change the form of government [f].

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[x] Arist. ap. Suid. et Harpocr. in Στρατ. Poll. lib. 2, cap. 2, § 11. Taylor in Not. ad Lys. p. 124.
[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 752.
[z] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 422. Suid. et Etymol. Magn. in Τιθ.
[a] Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 50.
[b] Lys. pro Mantit. p. 307.
[c] Sam. Pet. p. 555. Ulpian. in 3 Olynth. p. 43.
[d] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 33, et 705. Schol. ibid.
[e] Aristoph. ap. Harpocr. in Θῆτ. Sam. Pet. p. 546.
[f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 389.

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The republic had engaged to furnish the army of the allies with six thousand men, cavalry and infantry [g]. The day after their enrolment they tumultuously dispersed themselves with their arms about the streets and public places [h]. Their names were affixed to the statues of the ten heroes after whom the tribes of Athens are named [i], so that any person might read on each statue the names of the soldiers of each tribe.

A few days after there was a review of the troops, to which I went, in company with Timagenes, Apollodorus, and Philotas. We there saw Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, Chabrias, all the old generals, and those for the present year. The latter had been drawn by lot, according to custom, in the assembly of the people. They were ten in number, one chosen from each tribe [k]. This brings to my mind a remark of Philip of Macedon: "I envy the good fortune of the Athenians," said he: "they find ten men every year able to command their armies, whilst I could never find any one but Parmenio to head mine [l]."

Formerly the command devolved alternately on the ten strategi. Every day the army had a new

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[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 393.
[h] Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 556, &c.
[i] Id. in Pac. v. 1183. Schol. ibid.
[k] Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 50. Aristot. et Hyper. ap Harpocr. in Στρατηγ. Plut. in Cim. p. 483; et alii.
[l] Plut. Apopht. t. ii. p. 177.

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general [m]; and when the council was divided, the polemarch, one of the chief magiſtrates of the republic, poſſeſſed the right to decide the queſtion by his voice [n]. On this day the whole authority is, generally ſpeaking, in the hands of one man, who is obliged, at his return, to give an account of what he has done, unleſs previouſly inveſted with unlimited power [o]. The other generals remain at Athens, with no other function than that of appearing at public ceremonies [p].

The infantry [q] was compoſed of three orders: the oplitæ, or heavy armed ſoldiers; the light armed; and the peltaſtæ, whoſe arms were neither ſo weighty as thoſe of the former, nor ſo ſlight as thoſe of the latter [r].

The defenſive armour of the oplitæ conſiſted of the helmet, the cuiraſs, the buckler, and a ſort of buſkins that covered the fore part of the leg; their offenſive weapons were the lance and ſword [s].

The light armed troops were to caſt javelins or darts; and ſome to throw ſtones with the ſling or hand. The peltaſtæ carried a ſpear and a ſmall ſhield called the pelta.

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[m] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 110. Plut. in Ariſt. t. i. p. 321.
[n] Herodot. ibid. cap. 109.
[o] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. Suid. in Αὐτοκρ.
[p] Demoſth. Philipp. i. p. 51.
[q] Plut. Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 810.
[r] Arrian. Tact. p. 10. Ælian. Tact. cap. 2.
[s] Suid. in Ὅπλ.

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The shields, almost all made of willow [t], or even of osier, were ornamented with colours, emblems, and inscriptions [u]. I saw some on which these words were written in golden letters, To good fortune [x]; and others on which some officers had painted symbols alluding to their character or taste. As I passed on, I overheard an old man saying to his companions: I was in that unfortunate expedition into Sicily, fifty-three years ago. I served under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus. You have heard of the riches of the first, and of the valour and beauty of the second; the third possessed a courage proper to inspire terror. The buckler of Nicias was decorated with gold and purple [y]; that of Lamachus represented a gorgon's head [z]; and that of Alcibiades had on it a Cupid darting thunder [a].

I was wishing to hear the rest of this conversation, but was interrupted by the arrival of Iphicrates, to whom Apollodorus had been recounting the adventures of Timagenes and myself. After the first salutations, Timagenes complimented him on the changes he had introduced into the armour of the oplitæ. They were necessary, answered Iphi-

[t] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 9. Poll. lib. 1, cap. 10. § 133. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 4, p. 518.
[u] Æschyl. Sept. Cont. Theb. v. 393, &c.
[x] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 855.
[y] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 542. Poll. lib. 1, cap. 10. § 134.
[z] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 573. Schol. ibid.
[a] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 198.

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crates: the phalanx, oppreſſed with the weight of their arms, could ſcarcely perform the neceſſary motions; and were better fitted to reſiſt, than act offenſively againſt the enemy. The metal cuiraſs is exchanged for one of canvaſs, and a ſmall and light buckler is ſubſtituted for thoſe enormous ſhields, which, while they protected the body, prevented the ſoldier from acting. The ſpear is lengthened one third; and the ſword is half as long again as formerly. The ſoldier faſtens and unbinds the armour of his legs with more facility[b]. I was particularly deſirous of rendering the oplitæ more formidable, for they are in an army what the breaſt is to the human body. As Iphicrates had no objection to diſplay his eloquence, he purſued his ſimile, comparing the general to the head, the cavalry to the feet, and the light troops to the hands[c]. Timagenes aſked him why he had not adopted the Bœotian helmet which covers the neck, extending even over the cuiraſs[d]. This queſtion led to many others on the manual exerciſe of the troops as well as on the Greek and Perſian tactics. I in the mean time interrogated Apollodorus on many ſubjects, which will be explained by his anſwers.

Under the ten ſtrategi, ſaid he, there are the ſame number of taxiarchs, who, like the former,

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 360. Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 1.
[c] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 278.
[d] Xenoph. de Re Equeſt. p. 952.

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are annually appointed by lot, and drawn from each tribe in the general assembly [e]. It is their duty, under the direction of the generals, to provide the army with necessaries, to regulate the order of its marches, superintend its encampment [f], maintain discipline, and take care that the arms are in good order. Occasionally they command the right wing [g], and the general sometimes dispatches them to carry the news of a victory, and give a particular account of what passed in the battle [h].

At this moment we saw a man clothed in a tunic [i] reaching to his knees, and over which he should have worn his cuirass, which he held in his hands, with his other arms. On his approaching the taxiarch of his tribe, near to whom we were, Comrade, said that officer to him, why do not you put on your cuirass? He answered, The time of my service is expired; I was ploughing my field when you called over the names yesterday. I was enrolled in the militia under the archonship of Callias; look at your list of archons [k], and you will see that upwards of forty-two years have

[e] Demosth. Philip. 1, p. 50. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 54.
[f] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 5. Pott. Archæol. Græc. lib. 3, cap. 5.
[g] Aristoph. in Av. v. 352.
[h] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 422.
[i] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 5, p. 347. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13, cap. 37.
[k] Demosth. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐπώνυμ.

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elapsed since that period. Nevertheless, if my country stands in need of me, I have brought my arms. The officer having examined, found that what he said was true, and, after conferring with the general, effaced the name of this worthy citizen, and substituted another [l].

The places of the ten taxiarchs are of that kind of public employments which men are more anxious to possess, than scrupulously to discharge their duties. Most of them avoid following the army, and their functions are divided among the chiefs whom the general places at the head of divisions and subdivisions [m]. They are pretty numerous. Some have the command of 128 men, others of 256, 512, and 1024 [n], following a proportion unlimited in ascending, but which in descending ends in a term that may be considered as the element or basis of the different divisions of the phalanx. This element is the file, sometimes composed of eight men, but oftener of sixteen [o].

Here I interrupted Apollodorus to shew him a man with a crown upon his head, and a caduceus in his hand [p]. I have already, said I, seen several of these pass by. They are heralds, answered he. Their persons are sacred, and their functions im-

[l] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1181. Lys. pro Mil. p. 161.
[m] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3, cap. 9, § 10.
[n] Arrian. Tact. p. 28. Ælian. Tact. cap. 4.
[o] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4, p. 515. Arrian. Tact. p. 18. Ælian. Tact. cap. 7.
[p] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 53.

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portant; they proclaim war, propoſe a truce or peace [q], publiſh the orders of the general [r], give out orders, aſſemble the army [s], declare the time of departure, the place of deſtination, and how many days proviſion will be neceſſary [t]. If at the moment of attack or retreat the voice of the herald is overpowered by the tumult, ſignals are hoiſted [u]; if the duſt prevents them from being ſeen, the trumpet is ſounded [x], and all theſe methods failing, an aid de camp flies from rank to rank to carry the commands of the general [y].

At this inſtant, ſome young men, paſſing with the utmoſt rapidity, had nearly thrown down ſeveral grave perſonages who were marching with ſlow and ſolemn ſteps. The firſt, ſaid Apollodorus, are meſſengers [z]; the latter, ſoothſayers: two kinds of men often employed in our armies; the one, to carry the orders of the general to a diſtance; the other, to examine the entrails of the victims, and declare from them the will of the gods [a].

Thus, ſaid I, among the Greeks, the operations of a campaign depend on the intereſt and igno-

[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4, p. 533. Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 366.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 317. Id. de Laced. Rep. p. 686.
[s] Id. Exped. lib. 3, p. 299.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 312. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 450.
[u] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 63. Suid. in Σημ. Ælian. Tact. cap. 34.
[x] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 4, p. 319; et alii.
[y] Suid. in Ἔκταξ. Guiſch. Tact. d'Arrien. t. ii. p. 169.
[z] Suid. in Ἡμιφορ. Harpocr. in Δρομικ.
[a] Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 972. Id. Exped. Cyr. et alii.

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rance of these pretended interpreters of the commands of heaven. Too often, replied he. Yet, admitting that superstition has introduced them among us, it is not perhaps impolitic to retain them. Our soldiers are free men, and brave, but impatient, and incapable of submitting to the prudent delays of a general, who, unable to prevail on them to listen to reason, has frequently no other resource but to make the gods speak.

As we were walking around the phalanx, I observed that each general officer had by his side a subaltern who never quitted him. He is his shield-bearer[b], said Apollodorus. He is obliged to follow him into the heat of the battle, and, on certain occasions, to take charge of his buckler[c]. Every oplitæ, or heavy armed soldier, has likewise an attendant[d], who, among other functions, executes that of shield-bearer[e]; but care is taken to send him back to the baggage before the engagement[f]. With us, dishonour lies in the loss of the buckler[g], and not of the sword or other offensive weapons. Why this difference, said I? To give us a momentous lesson, answered he; to teach us to

[b] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 11, cap. 9. Plut. Apopht. t. ii. p. 194.
[c] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 4, p. 321.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 17, p. 177.
[e] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2, cap. 3, § 10.
[f] Ælian. Tact. cap. 53. Arrian. Tact. p. 73.
[g] Æschin. in Tim. p. 264. Lys. in Theomn. p. 174. Andoc. de Myst. p. 10.

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think leſs of ſpilling the blood of the enemy, than of preventing them from ſhedding ours [h], thus intimating that war ſhould rather be deemed a ſtate of defence than of attack.

We next went to the Lyceum, to ſee the cavalry reviewed. The command of it belongs of right to two generals named hipparchs, and ten particular officers called phylarchs; both of which are annually drawn by lot in the aſſembly of the people [i].

Some Athenians are early enrolled in this body, as almoſt all the others are in the infantry. It conſiſts only of twelve hundred men [k], each tribe furniſhing one hundred and twenty with the officer who is to command them [l]. The number actually employed is uſually regulated by that of the heavy armed ſoldiers; and the proportion, which varies according to circumſtances, is often that of one to ten; that is to ſay, two hundred horſe are added to two thouſand oplitæ [m].

It is not above a century, ſaid Apollodorus, that we have had any cavalry in our armies. It is numerous in Theſſaly, becauſe that country abounds in paſturage. The other diſtricts of Greece are ſo dry and ſterile, as to make it difficult to rear horſes; for which reaſon none but the rich enter

[h] Plut. in Pelop. t. 1, p. 278.
[i] Demoſth. Philip. 1, p. 50.
[k] Andoc. Orat de Pace, p. 24. Suid. in Ἵππ.
[l] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 94. Harpocr. in Φύλ.
[m] Demoſth. ibid. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 440.

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into the cavalry [n]; and hence the reſpect and honour annexed to that ſervice [o].

No perſon can obtain admiſſion into this corps without the previous conſent of the generals, the particular officers, and eſpecially of the ſenate, who pay extraordinary attention to the maintenance and ſplendour of ſo diſtinguiſhed a body of men [p]. They are now attending at the inſpection of new levies.

The ſoldiers appeared before them with a helmet, cuiraſs, buckler, ſword, lance or javelin, a ſmall cloak, &c. Whilſt they were proceeding to the examination of the arms, Timagenes, who had made every thing relative to the military art his particular ſtudy, ſaid to us: A cuiraſs too wide, or too ſtrait, becomes either an inſupportable weight, or binds and confines the body [q]. The helmet ſhould be ſo contrived as to ſuffer the horſeman occaſionally to draw it down over the middle of his face. The left arm ſhould be defended by the armour lately invented, which eaſily ſtretching and folding up, wholly covers that part of the body from the ſhoulder to the hand. On the right arm ſhould be worn leather arm-pieces, and braſs plates; and in certain places calves ſkin, care being taken that

[n] Xenoph. de Re Equeſtr. p. 935.
[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 365.
[p] Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 955. Lycurg. ap. Harpocr. Δοκιμ.
[q] Xenoph. de Re Equeſtr. p. 952.

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these means of defence do not confine the motions of the body; the legs and feet should be defended by leathern boots[r], provided with spurs[s]. The sabre is justly preferred to the sword for horsemen. Instead of those long lances, so brittle and heavy, that you see used by most of our soldiers, I should like better two small pikes of the sorbus wood, the one to throw, the other for defence[t]. The head and breast of the horse should be protected by armour, and his flanks and belly by cloths spread on his back, on which the rider may be seated[u].

Though the Athenian cavalry had not adopted all the improvements Timagenes had suggested, yet he was tolerably well satisfied with the manner in which they were armed. The senators and general officers dismissed some who did not appear to have sufficient strength of body[x], and reproached others with neglecting their arms. They next examined whether the horses were easy to mount[y], docile to the bit, and capable of supporting fatigue[z]; whether they were not vicious[a], too fiery, or too tame[b]. Several of them were found faulty and rejected; and

[r] Xenoph. de Re Equestr. p. 953.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 944.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 953.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 952. et de Magist. Equit. p. 968.
[x] Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 955.
[y] Id. de Re Equestr. p. 936.
[z] Id. de Magist. Equit. p. 954.
[a] Id. de Re Equestr. p. 937.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 947.

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to prevent any of the old or infirm ones from ever again being introduced, they were marked on the jaw with a hot iron [c].

During the courſe of this examination, the ſoldiers of one of the tribes advanced with loud clamours to accuſe to the ſenate one of their comrades, who, a few years before, in the heat of action, had paſſed from the infantry into the cavalry, without the permiſſion of the officers. The offence being public, and the law expreſs [d], he was ſentenced to that ſpecies of infamy which deprives a citizen of the greater part of his privileges.

The ſame penalty is inflicted on the citizen who refuſes to ſerve [e] unleſs compelled by the courts of juſtice [f]. It is incurred likewiſe by the ſoldier who flies at ſight of the enemy, or, to avoid danger, eſcapes into a leſs expoſed rank [g]. In all theſe caſes, the offender is excluded from the general aſſembly and public ſacrifices; and ſhould he appear, each citizen is entitled to commence a proſecution againſt him. The puniſhments for ſuch delinquencies are different; and if it be a pecuniary fine, he is thrown into priſon till he pays it.

Treaſon is puniſhed with death [h], as is deſer-

[c] Heſych. et Etym. Τρυσίων. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 4, p. 1517.
[d] Lyſ. in Alcib. 1, p. 276, et 282. Id. in Alcib. 2, p. 299. Lyſ. ap. Harpocr. Δοκιμ. Demoſth. pro Rhod. Libert. p. 148.
[e] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 865. Id. in Timocr. p. 789.
[f] Xenoph. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 955.
[g] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 456. Lyſ. in Alcib. 1, p. 275 et 278.
[h] Lyſ. in Philon. p. 498.

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tion[i]; for to desert is to betray the state[k]. The general has the power of degrading to an inferior rank, and even of employing in the meanest functions, the officer who dishonours himself, or is guilty of disobedience[l].

Such rigorous laws, said I, must certainly maintain a sense of honour and subordination in your armies. Apollodorus answered: A state which ceases to protect its laws, can no longer expect to be protected by them. The most essential of all, that which obliges each citizen personally to defend his country, is every day shamefully violated. The wealthiest procure themselves to be enregistered in the cavalry, and avoid service, either by voluntary contributions[m], or by finding a substitute, whom they furnish with a horse[n]. We shall soon have no more Athenians in our armies. You saw a small number indeed enrolled yesterday, but they have been just associated with a band of mercenaries, to whom we blush not to confide the safety of the republic. For some time past a set of daring chiefs have arisen in Greece, who, after collecting soldiers of all nations, fly from country to country, with death and desolation in their train,

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[i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 563.
[k] Suid. et Hesych. in Αὐτόμολ.
[l] Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 957. Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3, p. 296. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 556.
[m] Demosth. in Mid. p. 629. Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 972.
[n] Potter. Archæol. Græc. lib. 3, cap. 3.

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proſtituting their valour to the power that pays them, and equally ready to turn their arms againſt it on the ſlighteſt diſcontent [o]. Such, at this day, are the reſources and the hope of Athens. No ſooner is war declared, than the people, accuſtomed to the ſweets of peace, and dreading the fatigues of a campaign, exclaim with one voice, Send for ten thouſand, or twenty thouſand foreigners [p]. Our anceſtors would have ſhuddered at theſe diſgraceful clamours; but abuſe has become cuſtom, and that cuſtom law.

However, ſaid I, if among theſe venal troops you could find ſome capable of diſcipline, by incorporating them with your own, you would compel them to keep a mutual watch over each other, and poſſibly produce an uſeful emulation [q]. If our virtues ſtand in need of ſpectators, anſwered he, why go in ſearch of them out of the limits of the republic? By an admirable inſtitution, the members of a tribe or diſtrict are enrolled in the ſame cohort, the ſame ſquadron; they march, they fight by the ſide of their relations, their friends, their neighbours, their rivals. What ſoldier would dare to commit an act of cowardice in the

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[o] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 747. Id. Philip. 1, p. 50. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 384. Id. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 278. Id. Epiſt. 2. ad Philip. ibid. p. 457. Id. Epiſt. ad Archid. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 334. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3, cap. 10, § 9.

[p] Demoſth. Philip. 1, p. 50.

[q] Xenoph. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 971.

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preſence of ſuch formidable witneſſes? How, at his return, could he bear the ſight of men ever ready to cover him with confuſion?

After Apollodorus had expatiated on the ſcandalous luxury which the officers, and even the generals, were beginning to introduce into the army[r], I deſired him to inform me of the pay of the foot ſoldiers and cavalry. That, anſwered Apollodorus, has varied according to times and circumſtances. I have heard old men, who ſerved ſixty-eight years ago at the ſiege of Potidæa, ſay, that the pay of the oplites, for himſelf and attendant[s], was two drachmas a day *; but this was a ſingular inſtance, and exhauſted the public treaſury. About twenty years after, the republic was obliged to diſmiſs a body of light troops that had been ſent for from Thrace, becauſe they required the half of this pay[t].

The ordinary pay of the oplites, at preſent, is four oboli, or twenty drachmas a month †[u]. Twice this ſum is uſually given to the leader of a cohort, and quadruple to the general[x]. This ſum is

[r] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 625. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 532.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 17.

* 1 livre 16 ſols (or 18 pence).

[t] Thucyd. lib. 7, cap. 27, p. 461.

† About 12 ſols (or 6 pence) a day; 18 livres (or 15 ſhillings) monthly.

[u] Theopomp. ap. Poll. lib. 9, cap. 6, § 64. Euſtath. in Iliad. p. 951. Id. in Odyſſ. p. 1405.

[x] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7, p. 402 et 413.

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ſometimes reduced, from peculiar circumſtances, to one half [y]; in which caſe it is preſumed that this is ſufficient to procure a bare ſubſiſtence for the foot ſoldier, and that his ſhare of booty will make up the deficiency.

The pay of the horſeman, in time of war, is, according to circumſtances, double [z], triple [a], nay even quadruple [b] to that of the foot ſoldier. In peace, when there is no longer any pay, he receives, for the maintenance of his horſe, ſixteen drachmas a month *, which makes an annual expenditure of about forty talents † for the public treaſury [c].

Apollodorus was never wearied with ſatisfying my curioſity. The ſoldiers, before they march, ſaid he, are ordered to lay in proviſions for ſome days [d]. It is then the buſineſs of the generals to provide the markets with every thing neceſſary [e]. The baggage is conveyed in covered waggons, on beaſts of burthen and by ſlaves. Sometimes the ſoldiers are themſelves obliged to carry it [f].

You wiſh to know the practice of the Greeks

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[y] Demoſth. Philip. 1, p. 51.
[z] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 47.
[a] Demoſth. ibid.
[b] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 556.
* About 14 livres 8 ſols (or 12 ſhillings).
† About 216,000 livres (or 9000 l. ſterling).
[c] Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 956. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 552.
[d] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 196. Schol. ibid. Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.
[e] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 762.
[f] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3, p. 303, &c.

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reſpecting the ſpoils taken from the enemy. The right of diſpoſing of them, or making a diſtribution, has always been conſidered as one of the prerogatives of the general. During the Trojan war they were laid at his feet; one part he reſerved for himſelf, and divided the remainder either among the chiefs or ſoldiers [g]. Eight hundred years after, the generals regulated the partition of the ſpoils taken from the Perſians after the battle of Platæa. They were ſhared among the ſoldiers, after ſetting apart a certain portion to decorate the temples of Greece, and decreeing proportionable rewards to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action [h].

From that period to our time, the Grecian generals have been ſeen to diſpoſe of the ſums ariſing from the ſale of the plunder; ſometimes depoſiting them in the public treaſury [i]; at others aſſigning them to defray the expence of public works [k], or the decoration of temples [l]; enriching their friends or ſoldiers with them [m];

[g] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9, v. 330. Odyſſ. lib. 9, v. 39; lib. 14, v. 232.

[h] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 26. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 331.

[i] This is what was done ſometimes by CIMON. Plut. p. 484 et 487; by TIMOTHEUS, Nep. in Tim. c. 1.; by LYSANDER, Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 462. Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 225. Plut. in Lyſ. p. 442.

[k] CIMON, Plut. in Cim. p. 487. Nep. in Cim. cap. 2.

[l] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 80. Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 114.

[m] MYRONIDES, Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 63. AGESILAUS, Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 3, Plut. in Ageſ. p. 601. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 654. IPHICRATES, Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3, cap. 9, § 3.

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adding them to their own wealth [n], or at leaſt appropriating to themſelves the third, which in certain countries is regularly aſſigned them by conſtant uſage [o].

With us there is no law to reſtrain the prerogative of the general, who avails himſelf of it as he happens to be more or leſs diſintereſted. All that the ſtate requires of him is, that the troops may live, if poſſible, at the expence of the enemy, and find in the diviſion of the ſpoils a ſupplement to their pay, when it becomes neceſſary to diminiſh it from motives of œconomy.

The following days were ſet apart for the exerciſe of the troops. I ſhall not attempt to ſpeak of all the manœuvres to which I was a witneſs; my deſcription would be but imperfect, and uſeleſs to thoſe for whom I am writing: the following are only a few general obſervations.

Near Mount Ancheſmus, we found a body of ſixteen hundred heavy armed infantry, drawn up ſixteen deep and one hundred in front, each ſoldier occupying [p] the ſpace of four cubits *. To them was added another body of light armed troops.

The beſt men were placed in the firſt and laſt

[n] Cimon, Plut. et Nep. ut ſupra.
[o] Cleomenes, Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 2, p. 147.
[p] Ælian. Tact. cap. 11.
* 5 feet 8 inches French (or 6 feet Engliſh, nearly).

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ranks[q]. The commanders of the files eſpecially, as well as thoſe at each end, were all of them men diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and experience[r]. One of the officers gave the word of command. Take up your arms, cried he[s]: Followers, leave the phalanx: Raiſe your pikes: Lower your pikes: File-leader, dreſs the files: Take your diſtances: To the right about: To the left about[t]: The pike within your buckler[u]: March[x]: Halt: Double your files: Recover your poſition: The Lacedæmonian evolution: Recover your poſition, &c.

At the wōrd of command, we ſaw the phalanx ſucceſſively open its files and ranks, cloſe, and compreſs them, ſo that the ſoldier occupying only the ſpace of one cubit *, was no longer able to move either to the right or left[y]. Now we ſaw it form a cloſe line, and now divided into ſections, the intervals of which were occaſionally occupied by light troops[z]; and, at length, by means of certain evolutions, aſſuming all the forms of which it was capable, marching forward in a column, in

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[q] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 762.
[r] Arrian. Tact. p. 20 et 33. Ælian. Tact. cap. 5.
[s] Arrian. ibid. p. 73. Ælian. Tact. cap. 51 et 53.
[t] Theophr. Charact. Περὶ. Ὀψιμαθ.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 388. Schol. ibid.
[x] Arrian. Ælian. ut ſupra.
* 18 inches.
[y] Arrian. Tact. p. 32. Ælian. Tact. cap. 11. Xenoph. Exped. Cyr lib. 5, p. 353.

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a perfect or oblong square, either with a hollow or solid centre, &c. [a]

During these manœuvres, blows were frequently given to untractable or negligent soldiers [b]. This surprised me the more, as among the Athenians it is not permitted to strike even a slave [c]. Hence I concluded, that dishonour in polished nations often depends more on arbitrary circumstances, than on the real nature of things.

These evolutions were scarcely finished before we discovered a cloud of dust arising at a distance, and the advanced posts [d] announced the approach of the enemy. This was a second body of infantry that had been exercising at the Lyceum [e], and which had been sent by its commanders to make an attack upon the former, to exhibit the representation of a battle [f]. The shout, To arms, was instantly given; the soldiers flew to their ranks, and the light troops took their station in the rear; whence they pour on the enemy [g] arrows, darts and stones, which pass over the heads of the phalanx *.

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[a] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3, p. 304. Traduct. de M. le Comte de la Luzerne, p. 407, t. i. Arrian. Tact. p. 69.
[b] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 5, p. 368.
[c] Id. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.
[d] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 2, p. 278.
[e] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 355. Schol. ibid. in v. 353.
[f] Onosand. Inst. cap. 10, p. 34.
[g] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 6, p. 167. Arrian. Tact. p. 20.

* Onosander (Inst. cap. 10.) says, that in these mock fights the oplitæ had staves and leathern straps; the light-armed troops, pellets or clods of earth.

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Meanwhile the enemy were advancing with redoubled ſpeed [h], carrying their pikes on the right ſhoulder. Their light troops approached [i] with loud ſhouts, were repulſed, put to flight, and ſucceeded by the oplitæ, who halted at the diſtance of the flight of a javelin. A profound ſilence now reigned through both lines [k]. Preſently the trumpet gave the ſignal. The ſoldiers ſang the hymn of battle in honour of Mars [l]; and lowered their pikes, ſome ſtriking their bucklers with them [m]. The whole body ran forward in a line, and in perfect order. To increaſe their ardour, the general gave the ſhout of battle [n], while they a thouſand times repeated after him, ELELEU, ELELELEU [o]! The action now appeared very animated; the enemy were diſperſed, and we heard the word ALALE * ! which is the ſhout of victory [p], re-echoed on all ſides through our little army.

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[h] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6, p. 387.

[i] Ælian. Tact. cap. 17.

[k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 3, v. 8.

[l] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 474. Id. Exped. lib. 4, p. 324, 326, &c.

[m] Id. Exped. lib. 1, p. 265. Poll. lib. 1, cap. 10, § 163.

[n] Xenoph. ap. Demet. Phaler. cap. 98.

[o] Id. Exped. lib. 1, p. 265. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 363. Schol. ibid. Heſych. et Suid. in Ἐλελεῦ.

* In ancient times, the laſt letter of the word *Alalé* was pronounced like the French *i* (Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 418). To adapt this obſervation to the Engliſh mode of pronouncing the vowels, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to deſire the reader to ſubſtitute *a* for *e* in the firſt inſtance, and *e* for *i* in the ſecond.

[p] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 954, et 1761. Schol. ibid. Heſych. in Ἀλαλά.

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Our light troops went in purſuit of the enemy [q], and brought in ſeveral priſoners. The victorious ſoldiers prepared a trophy, and, ranging themſelves in order of battle, in front of an adjoining camp, laid down their arms, but in ſuch order as to be found all ready formed on taking them up [r]. They then retired into the camp; where, after taking a ſlight repaſt, they paſſed the night on beds of leaves [s].

None of the precautions obſerved in time of war were neglected. No fires were made in the camp [t]; but ſome were lighted in the front to diſcover any attempts of the enemy [u]. Evening ſentinels were poſted [x], and relieved at the different watches of the night [y]. The round was often made by an officer carrying a little bell [z], at the ſound of which the ſentinel pronounced the order or watch word. This word is a token, changed from time to time, to diſtinguiſh thoſe of the ſame party. It is communicated to the officers and ſoldiers before a battle, to enable them to rally in the

[q] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6, p. 387.
[r] Traduction de l'Expédition de Cyrus, par M. le Comte de la Luzerne, t. i. p. 221.
[s] Polyæn. lib. 3, cap. 9, § 19. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. p. 1678. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 347.
[t] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 842.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 587.
[x] Id. Exped. lib. 7, p. 406.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 316.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 843 et 1160. Schol. ibid. Ulpian. in Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 377.

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heat of action; and before night, that they may know each other in the dark [a]. The general gives it; and the greateſt mark of diſtinction he has it in his power to grant, is to concede this privilege to another [b]. The following formularies are frequently employed: JUPITER SAVIOUR AND HERCULES CONDUCTOR [c]; JUPITER SAVIOUR AND VICTORY; MINERVA-PALLAS; THE SUN AND MOON; SWORD AND DAGGER [d].

Iphicrates, who had never quitted us, told us that he had ſuppreſſed the uſe of the bell in going the rounds; and, the better to conceal the word from the enemy, gave out two different ones for the officer and the ſentinel, ſo that one, for inſtance, anſwered, JUPITER SAVIOUR; the other, NEPTUNE [e].

Iphicrates was of opinion that the camp ſhould be defended by a circumvallation. That is a precaution, ſaid he, which ſhould be conſtantly obſerved, and which I never neglected, even when in a friendly country [f].

You ſee thoſe beds of leaves, added he. Sometimes I order one only to be made for two ſoldiers, at others each ſoldier has two. I then quit my camp; the enemy comes, numbers my beds, and

[a] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6, p. 386; lib 7, p. 406.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 7, p. 407.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 6, p. 386.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 264. Æneas, Comment. cap. 24.
[e] Æneas, ibid.
[f] Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3, cap. 9, § 17.

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ſuppoſing me at the head of more or fewer forces than I really have, either does not venture to attack me, or does it to diſadvantage [g].

I maintain vigilance among my troops, by privately exciting panic terrors, by frequent alarms, and ſometimes by a falſe rumour of treachery, of an ambuſcade, or of a reinforcement received by the enemy [h].

To prevent a pernicious idleneſs in times of tranquillity, I employ my men to dig trenches, cut down trees, and remove the camp and baggage from place to place [i].

But above all, I endeavour to lead them by the incentive of honour. One day, when on the point of engaging, I obſerved ſome ſoldiers turn pale; I immediately ſaid aloud: If any of you has forgotten any thing in camp, let him go back and return as quick as poſſible. The cowards availing themſelves of the permiſſion, I then exclaimed: The ſlaves have diſappeared; none remain with us but the brave. We marched, and the enemy took to flight [k].

Iphicrates related to us many ſuch ſtratagems, which had been attended with ſimilar ſucceſs. We withdrew towards the middle of the night. On the next, and ſeveral ſucceeding days, we ſaw

[g] Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3, cap. 9, § 19.
[h] Id. ibid. § 32.
[i] Id. ibid. § 35.
[k] Id. ibid. § 1.

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the cavalry exercise at the Lyceum and near the Academy [l]: they were trained to vault on horseback without aid [m], to throw javelins [n], leap ditches, climb eminences, and ride along declivities [o]; to attack and pursue each other [p], and to perform various kinds of evolutions, now separately, and afterward in conjunction with the infantry.

Timagenes said to me: However excellent this cavalry may be, they will be beaten if they come to action with that of the Thebans. They admit but a small number of slingers and javelin-men into the intervals of their line; the Thebans have three times as many, and employ none but Thessalians, who are superior in this species of attack to all the nations of Greece. The event justified the prediction of Timagenes [q].

The army prepared for its departure. Many families were in consternation. The sentiments of nature and of love now began to revive with redoubled energy in the hearts of wives and mothers. Whilst they were thus abandoning themselves to their fears, the ambassadors lately arrived from Lacedæmon, entertained us with accounts of the courage which the Spartan women had displayed on such occasions. A young soldier, shew-

[l] Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 959, &c.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 954.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 954 et 956.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 966; et de Re Equest. p. 936.
[p] Id. de Re Equest. p. 951.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 394.

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ing his ſword to his mother, ſaid: It is very ſhort. Well then, replied ſhe, you have only to advance a ſtep farther[r]. Another Lacedæmonian woman, while giving her ſon his ſhield[s], ſaid to him: Return with this, or upon this *.

The troops were preſent at the feſtival of Bacchus, and on the laſt day we witneſſed a ceremony which the circumſtances of the moment rendered peculiarly intereſting. The ſenate, the army, and a prodigious number of citizens of all ranks, and foreigners from every country, were ſpectators of it. At the end of the laſt tragedy, we ſaw a herald make his appearance on the ſtage, followed by ſeveral young orphans clad in glittering armour. He advanced, in order to preſent them to this auguſt aſſembly; and with a firm and ſonorous voice ſlowly pronounced theſe words: "Behold theſe young men, whoſe fathers were ſlain in battle after bravely fighting. The people who adopted them have taken care of their education until their twentieth year. This day they give them a complete ſuit of armour; they return them to their homes, and aſſign them the firſt

[r] Plut. Apopht. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241.

[s] Ariſt. ap. Stob. ſerm. 7, p. 88. Plut. ibid. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. 3, cap. 24, p. 181.

* At Sparta, to loſe the ſhield was diſhonourable in the higheſt degree; and it was on their ſhields that the dead bodies of ſoldiers were brought from the field of battle.

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places at our public ſpectacles[t]." Every heart felt the livelieſt emotion. The troops ſhed tears of ſenſibility and joy, and on the next day began their march.

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[t] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 46. Plat. in Menex. t. ii. p. 248. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 452. Leſbon. in Protrept. p. 172. Laert. in Solon. lib. 1, § 55.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XI.

The Theatre *.

I HAVE juſt been to ſee a tragedy; and, in the confuſed ſtate of my ideas, haſtily commit to paper the impreſſions it has made upon me.

The theatre opened at break of day [a]: I went thither with Philotas. Nothing can be ſo majeſtic as the firſt view. On one ſide we ſee the ſtage ornamented with ſcenes executed by the ableſt artiſts; and on the other, a vaſt amphitheatre lined with ſeats riſing one above the other to a very great height; with landing-places and ſtairs, which, lengthened out, and interſecting each other at intervals, facilitate the communication, and divide the ſeats into ſeveral compartments, ſome of which are reſerved for particular communities and claſſes of citizens.

The people flocked hither in crowds; they kept coming and going, aſcending, deſcending,

* In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the firſt day of the greater Dionyſia, or grand feſtivals of Bacchus, which, according to Dodwell, always began on the 12th of Elaphebolion, fell on the 8th of April of the year 362 before Chriſt.

[a] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 825. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 440.

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ſhouting, laughing, preſſing and puſhing each other, and braving the officers, who were running about on all ſides to maintain order [g]. Amid this tumult, the nine archons, or chief magiſtrates of the republic, the courts of juſtice [y], the ſenate of five hundred, the general officers of the army [z], the miniſters of the altars [a] ſucceſſively arrived. Theſe different bodies occupied the lower ſeats: above them were placed all the young men who had attained their eighteenth year [b]. The women were ſtationed in a place that kept them at a diſtance from the men and the courtezans [c]. The orcheſtra was empty. That was ſet apart for emulative conteſts in poetry, muſic, and dancing, which take place after the repreſentation of the pieces; for here all the arts are united to gratify all taſtes.

I ſaw ſome Athenians who had purple carpets ſpread under their feet, and were luxuriouſly lolling on cuſhions brought thither by their ſlaves [d]; others, who, before and during the repreſentation, called for wine, fruit, and biſcuits [e]; others again, who briſkly ſtepped upon the benches to chooſe a

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[g] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 631. Ulpian. ibid. p. 688. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 733.
[y] Poll. Onom. lib. 4, cap. 19, § 121.
[z] Theophr. Charact. cap. 5. Caſaub. ibid. p. 51.
[a] Heſych. in Νεμησ.
[b] Poll. ibid. § 122. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 795.
[c] Ariſtoph. Eccleſ. v. 22. Schol. ibid.
[d] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 440. Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.
[e] Philoch. et Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 11, p. 464.

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commodious place, and take it from the perſon then occupying it[f]. They have a right ſo to do, ſaid Philotas. It is a diſtinction they have received from the republic, as a recompence for ſervices.

Obſerving that I was aſtoniſhed at the number of ſpectators, he told me they might amount to about thirty thouſand[g]. The ſolemnity of theſe feſtivals, ſaid he, attracts people from all parts of Greece, and diffuſes a ſpirit of delirium among the inhabitants of this city. For many days you will ſee them neglect all buſineſs, deny themſelves ſleep, and ſpend part of the day here, without ever being ſatiated with the variety of exhibitions. This pleaſure has double charms for them, as they but ſeldom taſte it. The competition of dramatic pieces takes place only at two other feſtivals. But authors reſerve all their efforts for this. We are promiſed ſeven or eight new pieces[h]. Do not be ſurpriſed: every man in Greece who writes for the theatre is anxious to offer us the homage of his talents[i]. Beſides, we ſometimes revive the pieces of our ancient authors; and the liſts are about to be opened with the Antigone of Sophocles. You

[f] Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 572. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Πρωεδ.
[g] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 175 et 175.
[h] Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 785. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 181.
[i] Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 183.

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will have the pleaſure of hearing two excellent actors, Theodorus and Ariſtodemus [k].

Philotas had ſcarcely ended, before a herald, after commanding ſilence [l], proclaimed: Let the chorus of Sophocles advance [m]. This was to announce the piece, and a perfect ſilence enſued. The theatre repreſented the veſtibule of the palace of Creon, king of Thebes [n]. Antigone and Iſmene, daughters of Œdipus, opened the ſcene in maſks. Their declamation appears natural, ſaid I; but their voice ſurpriſes me. What are the names of theſe two actreſſes?—Theodorus and Ariſtodemus, anſwered Philotas; for here no women appear on the ſtage [o]. A moment after, a chorus of aged Thebans entered, arranged three in front and five deep, walking with meaſured ſteps, and celebrating, in melodious ſongs, the victory juſt gained by the Thebans over Polynices, brother of Antigone.

The plot now inſenſibly unfolded. Every thing I ſaw and heard was ſo novel to me, that my attention increaſed each inſtant with my ſurpriſe. Hurried along by the enchantment that ſurrounded me, I ſeemed to be in the midſt of Thebes. I

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[k] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 331.
[l] Ulpian. in Demoſth. p. 687.
[m] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 11. Schol. ibid.
[n] Soph. in Antig. v. 18. Argum. Ariſtoph. Grammat. ibid.
[o] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. Aul. Gell. lib. 7, cap. 5. Lucian. de Salt. cap. 28, t. ii. p. 285.

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beheld Antigone pay the tribute of funeral duties to Polynices, in despite of the rigorous prohibition of Creon. I saw the tyrant, deaf to the prayers of his son, the virtuous Hæmon, whom she was on the point of espousing, order her to be violently dragged into a dark cavern, which appeared at the bottom of the stage [p], and which was to become her tomb. Presently, terrified with the menaces of heaven, he advanced towards the cavern, whence issued the most dreadful groans. They were the groans of his son, holding in close embrace the wretched Antigone, who had terminated her miseries by the fatal knot. The presence of Creon irritates his fury: he draws his sword against his father; then piercing himself with it, falls at the feet of his mistress, in whose arms he remains locked till he expires.

Almost all these tragic events passed as it were before my eyes, or rather a happy distance mitigated their horror. What then is that art that makes me at once experience so much pain and pleasure; that strongly fixes my attention on calamities, which, if realized, it would be impossible for me to support? What a marvellous combination of illusions and realities! I flew to the aid of the two lovers; I detested the remorseless author of their sorrows. The most violent passions rent

[p] Poll. lib. 4, cap. 19, § 124.

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my ſoul, without tormenting it; and for the firſt time I found charms even in hatred.

Thirty thouſand ſpectators, melting into tears, redoubled my emotion and delirium. How intereſting did the princeſs appear, when, by the relentleſs guards dragged towards the cavern, her lofty and unconquerable ſoul, yielding to the imperious voice of Nature, for a ſingle moment ſeemed to confeſs weakneſs, and gave utterance to theſe plaintive accents:

"Muſt I then, while yet alive, ſlowly deſcend into the manſions of the dead[q]? Shall I no more behold the light of heaven[r]? O tomb, O funereal bed, eternal habitation[s]! There remains for me but one hope: thou wilt ſerve me as a paſſage to rejoin my family, that diſaſtrous family, of which I periſh the laſt and the moſt wretched[t]. Again ſhall I behold the authors of my being; and they ſhall again behold me with pleaſure. And thou, Polynices, O my brother! thou ſhalt know that, to perform towards thee the duties preſcribed by nature and religion, I have ſacrificed my youth, my life, my nuptials, and whatever was deareſt to me in the world. Alas! all abandon me in this calamitous moment. The Thebans inſult my for-

[q] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 932.
[r] Id. ibid. v. 891.
[s] Id. ibid. v. 903.
[t] Id. ibid. v. 907.

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rows [6]. I have not a friend from whom I can obtain a tear [7]. I hear death who calls me, and the gods are silent [8]. What are my crimes? If my piety was a crime, I ought to expiate it by my death. If my enemies are guilty, I wish them no more dreadful punishments than those I suffer [9]."

The prize is not to be adjudged till after the representation of all the pieces. That of Sophocles was followed by some others, to which I had no longer the power to listen. I had no more tears to shed, no more attention to bestow.

In this chapter, I have copied the very words of my journal. I shall describe elsewhere every thing relative to the dramatic art, and the other spectacles which give such splendour to the Dionysiac festivals.

[6] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 850.
[7] Id. ibid. v. 894.
[8] Id. ibid. v. 945.
[9] Id. ibid. v. 940.

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CHAP. XII.

Deſcription of Athens.

THERE is not a city in Greece which preſents us with ſo vaſt a number of public buildings and monuments as Athens. Edifices venerable for their antiquity, or admirable for their elegance, raiſe their majeſtic heads on all ſides. Maſterpieces of ſculpture are extremely numerous even in the public places, and concur with the fineſt productions of the pencil, to embelliſh the porticos and temples. Here every thing is animate, every thing ſpeaks to the eyes of the attentive ſpectator. The hiſtory of the monuments of this people would form the hiſtory of their warlike achievements, their gratitude, and religious worſhip.

It is neither my intention minutely to deſcribe them, nor do I pretend to communicate to the minds of my readers the impreſſions made on mine by theſe beautiful works of art. It is a ſource of the higheſt pleaſure to a traveller, to have enjoyed a number of pleaſing and lively emotions, the remembrance of which is perpetually recurring during the courſe of his whole life; but it is im-

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poſſible for him to participate them with thoſe, who never having experienced the ſame ſenſations, are always more intereſted in the recital of his ſufferings than in the narrative of his pleaſures. I ſhall imitate thoſe guides who ſhew to ſtrangers the curioſities of Olympia and Delphi. I ſhall conduct my reader into the different quarters of Athens: the point of time ſhall be the latter years of my reſidence in Greece, and we will begin by landing at the Piræus *.

This harbour, which contains three leſſer ones[a], lies to the weſt of thoſe of Munychiæ and Phalerum, at this day almoſt totally deſerted. Not leſs than three hundred galleys have ſometimes been collected here at once [b], and it is ſufficiently capacious to contain four hundred †[c]. It was firſt diſcovered, if I may ſo ſpeak, by Themiſtocles, when he laid the plan of giving a navy to the Athenians [d]. Markets and magazines were preſently erected, and an arſenal capable of furniſhing every thing neceſſary for the equipment of a great number of veſſels.

Before we ſet foot on ſhore, let us caſt our eyes

* See the plan of Athens, and the note at the end of the volume.

[a] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 93. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 3. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, première partie, p. 261.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13.

† Spon and Wheeler obſerve, that this port could hardly contain forty or forty-five of our ſhips.

[c] Strab. lib. 9, p. 395.

[d] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 121. Nep. in Them. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 32.

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on the neighbouring promontory. A ſquare ſtone, without any ornaments, and reſting on a ſimple baſe, forms the ſepulchral monument of Themiſtocles, his body having been brought hither from the place of his exile [e]. Behold thoſe veſſels that are arriving, thoſe that are preparing to depart, or are already under ſail: obſerve thoſe women and children running to the ſhore to receive the firſt embraces, or the laſt farewel, of their huſbands and their fathers; thoſe clerks of the cuſtom-houſe hurrying to open the bales which are juſt landed, and to affix their ſeals until they have paid the duty of a fiftieth [f]; thoſe magiſtrates, thoſe inſpectors, who are all in motion; ſome to fix the price of the corn and flour [g]; ſome to give orders for the conveyance of two thirds of it to Athens [h]; and others employed in preventing frauds, and maintaining order [i].

Let us ſtep under one of theſe porticos that encompaſs the harbour [k]. Here a number of merchants, who are on the point of embarking for the Euxine or for Sicily, are borrowing the money they are in want of at heavy intereſt, and drawing up the contract which contains the conditions of the bargain [l]. One is making his

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[e] Pauſan. lib. 1, p. 3.
[f] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 952. Æneas, Poliorc. cap. 29.
[g] Harpocr. et Suid. in Σιτοφύλ.
[h] Dinarch. et Ariſtot. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐκκμπ. Etym. Magn. ibid.
[i] Ariſtot. ap. Harpocr. in Ἀγορ.
[k] Meurſ. in Pir. cap. 4.
[l] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 949. Theophr. Charact. cap. 23.

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declaration before witneſſes, that the merchandize he has put on board ſhall, in caſe of ſhipwreck, be at the riſk of the lenders [m]. Farther on, you ſee expoſed on tables, ſamples of corn and other goods lately imported from the Boſphorus [n]. Let us repair to the ſquare of Hippodamus, ſo called from the builder, an architect of Miletus [o]. Here, the productions of all countries are accumulated: this is not the market of Athens, but of all Greece [p].

The Piræus is decorated with a theatre, ſeveral temples, and a great number of ſtatues [q]. As the exiſtence of Athens depends on the ſafety of this harbour, Themiſtocles ſecured it againſt a ſudden attack, by building that noble wall which includes both the town of the Piræus, and the harbour of Munychiæ. This wall is ſixty ſtadia [r] in length, and forty cubits high *. Themiſtocles wiſhed to raiſe it to the height of eighty cubits [s]. Its thickneſs is greater than the ſpace occupied by two waggons. It was built of huge ſquare ſtones, faſ-

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[m] Demoſth. adv. Phorm. p. 944.

[n] Harpocr. in Δεῖγμα. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6, cap. 2, § 2.

[o] Meurſ. in Pir. cap. 5.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 2, c. 38. Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 139. Sopatr. de Div. Queſt. ap. Rhet. Græc. t. i. p. 305.

[q] Meurſ. ibid.

[r] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13.

* The length was 5670 toiſes, and conſequently two French leagues of 2500 toiſes, and 670 toiſes, or about a quarter of a league, more (ſomewhat above $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles Engliſh.) Its height being 40 cubits, or 60 Grecian feet, was $56\frac{2}{3}$ French feet ($60\frac{1}{2}$ feet Engliſh).

[s] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 93. Appian. Bell. Mithrid. cap. 190, p. 325.

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tened together on the outside by iron and leaden cramps.

We will now take the road to Athens, and follow this long wall, which extends from the Piræus to the gates of the city, a distance of forty stadia [t]. It was Themistocles likewise who planned this wall [u], which was completed under the administration of Cimon and Pericles [x]. Some years after they built a similar one, though not quite so long, from the walls of the city to the port of Phalerum [y]. This wall is on our right. The foundations of both were laid in marshy ground, which was filled up with huge pieces of rock [z]. By these two walls of communication, now called the long walls, the Piræus is enclosed within the precincts of Athens, of which it forms the rampart. After the taking of the city, they were wholly or in part demolished [a]; but at present they are almost completely restored [b].

The road we are following is frequented at all times, and at all hours of the day, by a great

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[t] Thucyd. lib 2, cap. 13. Strab. lib. 9, p. 395. Laert. in Antisth. lib. 6, § 2.

[u] Plut. in Them. t. i. p. 121.

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 107 et 108. Andocid. de Pac. p. 24. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.

[y] Andocid. ibid.

[z] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

[a] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2, p. 460. Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 226. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 441.

[b] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 4, p. 537. Diod. lib. 14, p. 303. Nepos in Timoth. cap. 4. Id. in Conon. cap. 4.

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number of people, attracted by the proximity, the festivals, or commerce of the Piræus.

But let us view the cenotaph before us. This was erected by the Athenians in memory of Euripides, who died in Macedonia [c]. Let us read the first words of the inscription: THE GLORY OF EURIPIDES HAS ALL GREECE FOR A MONUMENT [d]. Do you see that concourse of spectators near the city gate, the litters stopping there [e], and that man upon a scaffold surrounded by workmen? That is Praxiteles. He is going to fix upon a base, that serves by way of tomb, a grand equestrian statue which he has just finished [f].

We are now in the city, and close to an edifice called Pompeion [g]; whence it is that those *pomps* or processions of young men and damsels set out, who occasionally display themselves at the festivals celebrated by the other nations. In an adjoining temple dedicated to Ceres are admirable statues of that goddess, Proserpine, and young Iacchus; all three by the hand of Praxiteles [h].

Let us take a rapid view of those porticos that extend along the street, and which are wonderfully numerous in the city. Some stand detached;

[c] Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 6.
[d] Anthol. lib. 3, p. 273. Thom. Mag. in Vit. Eurip.
[e] Dinarch. Orat. adv. Demosth. in Oper. Demosth. p. 177.
[f] Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 6,
[g] Id. ibid.
[h] Id. ibid.

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others are contiguous to buildings to which they ſerve as veſtibules. Philoſophers and idle people ſpend part of the day here. In almoſt all of them you ſee paintings and ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip. In that where they ſell flour [i] you will find a picture of Helen, painted by Zeuxis [k].

Let us take this ſtreet on our left; it will lead us to the quarter of the Pnyx, and bring us near to the place where the people hold ſome of their aſſemblies [l]. This quarter, which is very populous, is contiguous to that of the Ceramicus, or pottery-grounds, ſo called from the earthen ware formerly fabricated there [m]. This extenſive ſpace is divided into two parts; one without the walls, where the Academy is ſituated; the other within, in which is the grand ſquare, or forum.

We will ſtop a moment at the royal portico, which merits our attention in ſeveral points of view. The ſecond of the archons, ſtiled the king-archon, holds his tribunal here [n]: here too the areopagus ſometimes aſſembles [o]. The ſtatues on the roof are of earthen ware, and repreſent Theſeus precipitating Sciron into the ſea, and Aurora carrying off Cephalus [p]. That figure in bronze

[i] Heſych. in Ἀλφίτ. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 682.
[k] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 11, p. 868, lin. 37.
[l] Meurſ. de Popul. Athen. in voce Pnyx.
[m] Plin. lib. 35, c. 12, p. 710. Suid. in Κεραμ. Meurſ. Ceram.
[n] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 8.
[o] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 831.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 8.

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which you see at the gate, is Pindar. He is represented crowned with a diadem, with a book on his knees, and a lyre in his hand [q]. Thebes, his native country, offended at the eulogium he had bestowed on the Athenians, having been mean enough to condemn him to a pecuniary fine, Athens decreed him this monument, less perhaps from esteem for the poet, than from hatred of the Thebans. Not far from the statue of Pindar are those of Conon, of his son Timotheus, and of Evagoras, king of Cyprus [r].

Near the royal portico is that of Jupiter Liberator [s], where Euphranor the painter has lately represented, in a series of pictures, the twelve gods, Theseus, the people of Athens, and that engagement of the cavalry in which Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, attacked the Thebans commanded by Epaminondas [t]. They are easily to be distinguished from each other, and the painter has expressed with all the fire of genius the courage and ardour with which both were animated [u]. The Apollo of the adjoining temple is by the same hand [x].

From the royal portico two streets branch out, and terminate in the forum. Let us take that on

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[q] Æschin. Epist. 4, p. 207.
[r] Isocr. in Evagor. t. ii. p. 98. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 551. Pausan. ibid.
[s] Meurs. in Ceram. cap. 4.
[t] Pausan. ibid. cap. 3, p. 9.
[u] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346.
[x] Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 9.

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the right. It is decorated, as you ſee, by a number of Hermæ, the name given to thoſe heads of Mercury ſupported by pedeſtals in the form of a ſheath. Some of theſe have been erected by private individuals; others, by order of the magiſtrates[y]. Almoſt all of them record glorious achievements. On ſome are inſcribed leſſons of wiſdom. For the latter Athens is indebted to Hipparchus, ſon of Piſiſtratus. He had put into verſe the moſt ſublime precepts of morality, and cauſed them to be engraved on a number of Hermæ erected by his orders in the ſquares, croſs-ways, many of the ſtreets of Athens, and in the towns of Attica. On one, for example, was inſcribed: ALWAYS TAKE JUSTICE FOR YOUR GUIDE; on another: NEVER VIOLATE THE RIGHTS OF FRIENDSHIP[z]. Theſe maxims no doubt have contributed to render the language of the inhabitants of the country places ſo ſententious[a].

This ſtreet is terminated by two porticos that front the forum. The one is that of the Hermæ[b]; the other, and moſt handſome of the two, is called the Pœcile. In the former are three ſtatues of Hermes, on which, after any advantages gained

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[y] Harpocr. in Ἑρμ.

[z] Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p. 229. Heſych. in Ἰωνικὰ. Suid. in Ἑρμ.

[a] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. t. ii. p. 572.

[b] Mneſim. ap. Athen. lib. 9, p. 402.

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over the Medes, they formerly inſcribed the eulogium, decreed by the people, not to the generals, but to the ſoldiers who had conquered under their command [c]. At the gate of the Pœcile is the ſtatue of Solon [d]. The walls within are covered with bucklers taken from the Lacedæmonians, and other nations [e], and enriched with the works of Polygnotus, Micon, Panœnus, and other celebrated painters. In theſe pictures, the beauty of which it is eaſier to feel than to deſcribe, we view the taking of Troy, the ſuccours given by the Athenians to the Heraclidæ, the battles they fought with the Lacedæmonians at Oenoë, with the Perſians at Marathon, and the Amazons in Athens itſelf [f].

The forum, which is extremely ſpacious, is decorated with buildings deſtined to the worſhip of the gods, or the ſervice of the ſtate; others that ſometimes afford an aſylum to the wretched, but which are too often a ſhelter for the wicked; and ſtatues decreed to kings and individuals who have merited well of the republic [g].

Follow me, and under the ſhade of the plane-trees that embelliſh theſe places [h], let us take a

[c] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 458.
[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 847. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 16, p. 38. Ælian. lib. 8, cap. 16.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 15.
[f] Meurſ. Athen. Att. lib. 1, cap. 5.
[g] Id. Ceram. cap. 16.
[h] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

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turn along one ſide of the ſquare. This ſpacious encloſure contains a temple in honour of the mother of the gods, and the palace in which the ſenate aſſembles [i]. In theſe edifices, and all around them, are placed cippi and columns, on which are engraven ſeveral of the laws of Solon, and the decrees of the people [k]. To that rotunda, ſurrounded by trees [l], the prytanes, in rotation of duty, go every day to dine, and ſometimes to offer up ſacrifices for the proſperity of the people [m].

In the middle of ten ſtatues, which give their names to the tribes of Athens [n], the firſt archon holds his tribunal [o]. Here the eyes of the enchanted ſpectator every moment meet the works of genius. In the temple of the mother of the gods you have ſeen a ſtatue of the goddeſs, executed by Phidias [p]; in the temple of Mars, before us, you will find that of the god, the workmanſhip of Alcamenes, a pupil worthy of Phidias [q].

Similar monuments are to be met with on every ſide of the forum. In the middle are encamped the Scythians kept in pay by the republic to main-

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[i] Plut. in X. Rhetor. Vit. t. ii. p. 842. Suid. in Μήλεαγ.

[k] Lycurg. Orat. in Leocr. p. 165. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 458. Harpocr. in ὁ Καθωτεν.

[l] Suid. in Heſych. in Σκιας.

[m] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 332. Ulp. ibid. p. 388. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 12. Meurſ. Ceram. cap. 7.

[n] Pauſan. ibid.

[o] Suid. in Ἄρκων.

[p] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 3, p. 9.

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 8, p. 20.

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tain order[r]. There is the place in which the people ſometimes aſſemble, but it is now covered with tents, in which different kinds of wares are expoſed to ſale[s]. Farther on you ſee a crowd which it is almoſt impoſſible to paſs through. There are ſold the proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of ſo numerous a people. It is the grand market, divided into ſeveral particular ones, frequented at all hours of the day, and eſpecially from nine o'clock till noon. Collectors attend there to receive the duties laid on every thing that is ſold, and magiſtrates to ſuperintend what is paſſing. I ſhall mention to you two very wiſe laws, for the regulation of this untractable and tumultuous populace. The one prohibits any man from reproaching the loweſt citizen with living by the profit of his traffic in the market[t], the government wiſhing to prevent a uſeful profeſſion from being treated as an object of contempt. The other forbids any perſon to employ falſehood for the purpoſe of exaction[u]. Vanity has maintained the former of theſe, but intereſt has rendered the latter of no effect. As the forum is the moſt frequented part of the city, workmen of all kinds endeavour

[r] Meurſ. Ceram. cap. 16.

[s] Demoſth. in Lor. p. 501. Id. in Neær. p. 875. Taylor, Not. in Demoſth. p. 620. Harpocr. in Τίγγα.

[t] Demoſth. in Eubul. p. 886.

[u] Demoſth. in Lept. p. 542. Ulpian. ibid. p. 570. Hyperid. ap. Harpocr. in κατὰ τὴν. &c.

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to reſide near it [x], and houſes let there at a higher price than elſewhere.

I am now about to conduct you to the temple of Theſeus, built by Cimon, ſome years after the battle of Salamis. Though ſmaller than that of Minerva, of which I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak, and which appears to have been built after the ſame model [y], it is, like that, of the Doric order, and of a very elegant architecture. Skilful painters have enriched it with their immortal labours [z].

After paſſing by the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, by that of Agraulos, daughter of Cecrops, and the Prytaneum, where ſome citizens who have rendered ſignal ſervices to the ſtate are maintained at the expence of the republic [a], we are now arrived at the ſtreet of the tripods [b], which ſhould rather be named the ſtreet of triumphs; for here is it, in fact, that the glory of the victors in thoſe conteſts that embelliſh our feſtivals is, if I may ſo ſpeak, annually depoſited. I mean thoſe trials of ſkill which take place between muſicians or dancers of different ages, each tribe naming its own candidates. That which has gained the victory, dedicates a tripod of braſs ſometimes in a temple, ſometimes

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[x] Lyſ. adv. Delat. p. 413.
[y] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. i. p. 18.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 17, p. 40.
[a] Meurſ. de Ath. Att. lib. 1, cap. 7 et 8.
[b] Athen. lib. 12, p. 542 et 543. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 46.

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in a houſe they have built in this ſtreet[c]. You ſee thoſe numerous offerings on the roofs, or in the inſide, of the elegant buildings we have on each ſide of us[d]. They are accompanied with inſcriptions, which, according to circumſtances, contain the name of the chief archon of the tribe that has been victorious; of the citizen who, under the denomination of choregus, had the regulation of the performers; of the poet who compoſed the verſes; of the maſter who had the direction of the chorus; and of the muſician who accompanied the ſongs with his flute[e]. Let us approach. Behold the vanquiſhers of the Perſians here celebrated for having appeared at the head of choruſes! Read under that tripod: THE TRIBE ANTIOCHIS GAINED THE PRIZE; ARISTIDES WAS CHOREGUS; ARCHESTRATUS COMPOSED THE PIECE[f]. Under that other: THEMISTOCLES WAS CHOREGUS; PHRYNICUS WROTE THE TRAGEDY; ADIMANTUS WAS ARCHON[g] *.

The works of architecture and ſculpture which ſurround us, aſtoniſh as much by the excellence of the workmanſhip, as by the motives that produced them; but all their beauties vaniſh before the ſa-

[c] Chandler. Inſcript. part 2, p. 48.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 46.
[e] Vandal. Diſſert. de Gymnaſ. cap. 5. p. 672. Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 99.
[f] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 318.
[g] Id. in Them. t. i. p. 114.
* See note at the end of the volume.

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tyr you are about to ſee in that edifice[h], eſteemed by Praxiteles one of the fineſt of his productions, and ranked by the public among the maſterpieces of art.

The ſtreet of the tripods leads to the theatre of Bacchus. It was but fitting that the trophies ſhould be erected near the field of battle; for it is at the theatre that the choruſes of the reſpective tribes uſually diſpute the palm[i]. There alſo is it that the people ſometimes aſſemble, either to deliberate on affairs of ſtate, or to be preſent at the repreſentation of tragedies and comedies. At Marathon, at Salamis, and Platæa, the Athenians triumphed only over the Perſians; here they have triumphed over all the nations now exiſting, perhaps over all that are yet to be born; and the names of Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, ſhall not be leſs celebrated in future ages, than thoſe of Miltiades, Ariſtides, and Themiſtocles.

Oppoſite to the theatre is one of the moſt ancient temples of Athens[k]; that of Bacchus, ſurnamed the god of the wine-preſs. It is ſituated in the quarter of the marſhes[l], and is opened only once a year[m]. In the wide ſpace in which

[h] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 46. Plin. lib. 34, cap. 8, p. 653. Athen. lib. 13, p. 591.

[i] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606 et 612.

[k] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 873. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 46.

[l] Athen. lib. 11, cap. 3, p. 465. Iſæus ap. Harpocr. Ἐν λίμναις. Heſych. in λίμνη.

[m] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 15.

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it ſtands public ſpectacles were formerly exhibited on certain feſtivals, before the theatre was built [n].

At length we are arrived at the foot of the ſtairs that lead up to the citadel [o]. Obſerve how the proſpect extends and becomes more beautiful on all ſides as you aſcend. Caſt your eyes to the left, on that cavern, hollowed out of the rock, conſecrated to Pan, near to that fountain [p]. There Apollo received the favours of Creuſa, daughter of king Erechtheus, and there he receives at this day the homage of the Athenians, ever attentive to ſanctify the foibles of their gods.

Let us ſtop for a while before that ſuperb edifice of the Doric order, which now preſents itſelf to view. This is called the propylæa or veſtibules of the citadel. Pericles had them built of marble, after the deſigns and under the inſpection of the architect Mneſicles [q]. Begun under the archonſhip of Euthymenes *, they were not completed till five years after; and are ſaid to have coſt two thouſand and twelve talents † [r], an exorbitant ſum,

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[n] Heſych. in Ἐπὶ λιμν.

[o] Athenian medal in the cabinet of the king of France.

[p] Eurip. in Ion. v. 17, 501, 936. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 28, p. 68. Lucian. in his Accuſ. t. ii. p. 801.

[q] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.

* The year 437 before J. C.

† 10,864,800 livres (452,700l.)

[r] Heliod. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Πρωπύλ.

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exceeding the whole annual revenue of the republic.

The temple we have on our left is dedicated to Victory. Let us ſtep into the building on the right to admire the paintings which adorn its walls, and are principally the work of Polygnotus [s]. Let us return to the centre of the building, examine the ſix beautiful columns which ſupport the pediment, and walk through the veſtibule divided into three parts by a double row of Ionic pillars, terminated on the oppoſite ſide by five doors, through which we diſtinguiſh the columns of the periſtyle that looks towards the inſide of the citadel [t] *. Obſerve, in paſſing, thoſe large blocks of marble which compoſe the ceiling, and ſuſtain the roof.

We are now in the citadel [u]. Obſerve the immenſe number of ſtatues which gratitude and religion have erected here, and on which the chiſels of Myron, Phidias, Alcamenes, and other artiſts of renown, ſeem to have beſtowed animation. Here Pericles, Phormio, Iphicrates, Timotheus, and other Athenian generals, will live for ever. Their noble ſtatues are intermingled, without diſtinction, with thoſe of the gods [x].

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 22, p. 51.

[t] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part 2, p. 13 et 47. Pauſan. ibid.

* See the plan of the propylæa.

[u] Meurſ. in Cecrop.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 1, paſſim.

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This kind of apotheoſis made a forcible impreſſion on me on my firſt arrival in Greece. I thought I beheld in every city two ſpecies of citizens, thoſe who at their deaths were conſigned to oblivion, and thoſe on whom the arts beſtow an eternal exiſtence. The one I conſidered as the children of men, the ſecond as the ſons of glory. But at length, from ſeeing ſo great a number of ſtatues, I have no longer been able to diſtinguiſh the two claſſes.

Let us approach theſe two altars. Revere the firſt; it is the altar of Modeſty: affectionately embrace the ſecond; it is that of Friendſhip [y]. Read on that column of bronze a decree which proſcribes and devotes to opprobrium a citizen and his poſterity, for receiving Perſian gold to corrupt the Greeks [z]. Thus are evil actions immortalized to produce good ones, and good to ſtimulate to ſtill better. Lift up your eyes, and admire the work of Phidias. Yonder is the coloſſal ſtatue of bronze which the Athenians dedicated to Minerva, after the battle of Marathon [a].

All the diſtricts of Attica are under the protection of this goddeſs [b], but it ſhould appear that ſhe has fixed her reſidence in the citadel. What in-

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[y] Heſych. in Αἰδώς.

[z] Demoſth. Philipp. 4, p. 91. Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 336, Plut. in Themiſt. t. 1. p. 114.

[a] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 336. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 28, p. 67.

[b] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 26, p. 63.

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numerable ſtatues, altars, and ſtructures in her honour! Among theſe ſtatues there are three, the materials and workmanſhip of which exhibit the progreſs of luxury and the arts. The firſt is ſo antique, that it is ſaid to have fallen from heaven[c]; it is ſhapeleſs, and of olive wood. The ſecond, I have been ſhewing you, is the work of an age, when, from among all the various kinds of metals, the Athenians only made uſe of iron to obtain ſucceſs, and braſs to eternize it. The third, which we ſhall ſee preſently, was ſculptured by order of Pericles, and is of gold and ivory[d].

Here we meet with a temple conſiſting of two chapels, one dedicated to Minerva Polias, the other to Neptune Erechtheus[e]. Remark the manner in which fabulous traditions may ſometimes be reconciled with hiſtorical facts. You are here ſhewn, on one ſide, the olive-tree which ſprang out of the earth at the command of the goddeſs, and which has ſo greatly multiplied in Attica; and, on the other, the well, whence they pretend that Neptune cauſed the water of the ſea to guſh out[f]. By ſuch bounties was it that theſe divinities aſpired to the honour of beſtowing their names on this riſing city. The gods decided in favour of

[c] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 26, p. 63.
[d] Schol. in Demoſth. Orat. adv. Androt. p. 440.
[e] Meurſ. Cecrop. cap. 20.
[f] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 55. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 26, p. 62. Meurſ. Cecrop. cap. 19.

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Minerva; and the Athenians for ages preferred agriculture to commerce [g]. Since they have combined these two sources of wealth, they divide their homage in the same hallowed place between both their benefactors, and, to complete the conciliation, have erected one common altar, which they call the altar of oblivion [h].

Before the statue of the goddess is suspended a golden lamp, above which is a branch of palm, of the same metal, that reaches to the ceiling. It burns night and day [i], and the oil is renewed but once a year. The wick, which is made of amianthus [k], is never consumed, and the smoke escapes by a tunnel concealed under the foliage of the palm-branch. This lamp is the work of Callimachus, and so highly finished as to incline those who view it to wish that it had more of the grace of negligence; but this was the general fault of that too careful artist. He lost sight of perfection by striving to attain it; and by being dissatisfied with himself, failed to give satisfaction to persons of real taste [l].

In this part of the temple was preserved the rich scymetar of Mardonius, who commanded the Persian army at the battle of Platæa; and the cui-

g Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121.
h Plut. Sympos. lib. 9, quæst. 6, t. ii. p. 741.
i Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 26, p. 63. Strab. lib. 9, p. 606.
k Salmas. in Solin. t. i. p. 178.
l Plin. lib. 34, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 658. Pausan. ibid.

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raſs of Maſiſtius, who fought at the head of the cavalry [m]. In the veſtibule of the Parthenon was likewiſe to be ſeen the throne with ſilver feet, on which Xerxes placed himſelf to be a ſpectator of the ſea fight of Salamis [n]; and in the ſacred treaſury were preſerved the remains of the ſpoils found in the camp of the Perſians [o]. Theſe ſpoils, the greateſt part of which have been carried off in our time by ſacrilegious hands, were trophies that furniſhed a ſubject of pride to the Athenians of the preſent day, as if they had acquired them by their own valour; like thoſe families who, having formerly produced great men, endeavour to make us forget what they now are, by the memory of what they have been.

That other building called Opiſtthodomos, is the public treaſury [p]. It is ſurrounded by a double wall. Treaſurers, choſen annually by lot, depoſit there the ſums placed by the ſenate in their hands [q], and the chief of the prytanes, who is changed every day, is entruſted with the key [r].

Your eyes have long been turning towards that famous temple of Minerva, one of the nobleſt or-

[m] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 793. Ulpian. in 3 Olynth. p. 45. Schol. Thucyd. in lib. 2, cap. 13. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 27, p. 64.
[n] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 793. Harpocr. in Ἀργυρέων.
[o] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13.
[p] Meurſ. Cecrop. cap. 26.
[q] Ariſt. ap. Harpocr. in Ταμ. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 97.
[r] Argum. Orat. Demoſth. in Androt. p. 697. Suid. in Ἐπιστατ.

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naments of Athens, which is known by the name of the Parthenon. Before you enter it, permit me to read you a letter I wrote, on my return from Perſia, to Othanes, one of the magi, with whom I lived in the cloſeſt intimacy during my reſidence at Suza. He was acquainted with the hiſtory of Greece, and wiſhed to inform himſelf of the cuſtoms of different nations. As he had requeſted from me ſome explanations reſpecting the Grecian temples, the following was the letter I wrote to him.

"You aſſert that we ought not to repreſent the Deity under a human form, nor circumſcribe his preſence within the limits of a ſtructure built by men [s]. But you would not have adviſed Cambyſes, when in Egypt, to inſult the objects of religious worſhip [t], nor Xerxes to deſtroy the temples and ſtatues of Greece [u]. Theſe princes, ſuperſtitious even to extravagance, knew not that a nation pardons violence more readily than contempt, and deems itſelf debaſed whenever what it holds in reverence is deſpiſed and profaned. Greece has forbidden the reſtoration of the ſacred monuments overthrown by the Perſians [x]. Theſe await the

[s] Herod. lib. 1, cap. 131. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. iii. p. 145.

[t] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 25, 29, &c.

[u] Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 811. Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 109. Diod. Sic. lib. 5, p. 332.

[x] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 203. Lycurg. cont. Leocr. part. 2, p. 158. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 35, p. 887. Diod. lib. 11, p. 24.

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moment of vengeance; and ſhould the Greeks ever carry their victorious arms into the dominions of the Great King, they will remember Xerxes, and reduce your cities to aſhes [y].

"The Greeks borrowed the idea [z] and the form of their temples from the Egyptians; but the proportions of the architecture [a] which they have employed in theſe edifices are more elegant, or ſuch at leaſt as are more conformable to their taſte.

"I ſhall not undertake to give you a minute deſcription of their different parts, but ſend you the plan of that erected in honour of Theſeus *. Four walls, diſpoſed in form of a parallelogram or oblong ſquare, conſtitute the nave or body of the building. Its principal decoration and chief merit is exterior, and is as diſtinct from it as the dreſſes that diſtinguiſh the various claſſes of citizens. This conſiſts in a portico that runs round the building, and of which the columns, founded on a baſe compoſed of ſeveral ſteps, ſupport an entablature crowned by a pediment at the anterior and poſterior extremities. This portico gives equal grace and majeſty to the edifice, and contributes to the luſtre of the ceremonies, by the great num-

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 545. Strab. l. 15, p. 730. Quint. Curt. lib. 5, cap. 7.

[z] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 4.

[a] Voyag. de Norden, pl. 132. Pococke, t. i. pl. 44, 45, &c. Moſaiq. de Paleſtr. in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxx. p. 503.

* See the plate relative to this chapter, No. 1.

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ber of ſpectators which it can contain, and ſhelter from the weather [b].

"In the veſtibule are vaſes of luſtral water [c], and altars on which the ſacrifices are uſually offered [d]. From hence, as we enter the temple, the ſtatue of the divinity, and votive offerings dedicated by the piety of the people, are ſeen. It has no light but what it receives from the entrance * [e].

"The plan you have before you may be varied according to the rules of art and the taſte of the artiſt. As, for inſtance, in the dimenſions. The temple of Jupiter, at Olympia, is two hundred and thirty feet long, ninety-five broad, and ſixty-eight in height [f]. That of Jupiter, at Agrigentum, in Sicily [g], is three hundred and forty feet long, one hundred and ſixty wide, and one hundred and twenty high †.

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[b] Vitruv. lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 42.

[c] Caſaub. in Theophr. cap. 16, p. 126. Duport. ibid. p. 456.

[d] Euripid. Iphig. in Taur. v. 72. Poll. lib. 1, cap. 1, § 6, &c.

* See the note at the end of the volume.

[e] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 89.

[f] Paſan. lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 398.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 203.

† Length of the temple of Olympia, 217 French feet, 2 inches, 8 lines (232 feet 9 inches Engliſh); its breadth, 89 feet, 8 inches, 8 lines (95 feet Engliſh); its height, 64 feet, 2 inches, 8 lines (68 feet 7 inches Engliſh). Length of the temple of Agrigentum, 321 feet, 1 inch, 4 lines (343 feet Engliſh); its breadth, 151 feet, 1 inch, 4 lines (161 feet 4 inches Engliſh); its height, 113 feet 4 lines (120 feet 8 inches Engliſh). Winkelmann (Recueil de ſes Lettres, t. i. p. 282) preſumes, with reaſon, that the breadth of this temple was 160 Grecian feet, inſtead of 60, as the text of Diodorus, as we now have it, imports.

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"It admits alſo of variety in the number of columns. Sometimes we find two, four, ſix, eight, and even as many as ten, in the two fronts; ſometimes they are placed only at the anterior front. In ſome temples a double portico is formed round the whole building by two rows of columns.

"Variety is alſo admitted in the ornaments and proportions of the columns and entablature; and here the genius of the Greeks ſhines forth. After various experiments, having combined their ideas and diſcoveries into a ſyſtem, they compoſed two ſpecies or orders of architecture, each poſſeſſing a diſtinctive character and peculiar beauties; the one more ancient, more maſculine, and more ſubſtantial, called the Doric; the other more light and elegant, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Ionic. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Corinthian, as it does not eſſentially differ from the two others [g].

"In fine, a variety may alſo have place in the interior parts of theſe ſtructures. Some contain a ſanctuary not to be entered by the profane [h]; others are divided into ſeveral departments. Some there are in which, beſides the principal gate of entrance, there is a ſecond at the oppoſite extremity, or one, the roof of which is ſupported by one or by two ranges of columns *.

[g] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, p. 15 de l'Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire de l'Architect.

[h] Valer. Max. lib. 1, cap. 6, § 12. Poll. lib. 1, cap. 1, § 8. Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. 3, cap. 105.

* See note at the end of the volume.

"The

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"The better to enable you to judge of the form of the temples of Greece, I ſhall annex two drawings to my letter, in which you will find repreſented the front and general view of the Parthenon, at the citadel of Athens *. I ſhall likewiſe ſend you the work compoſed by Ictinus on this beautiful ſtructure [i]. Ictinus was one of the two architects employed by Pericles in the building of this temple, the name of the other was Callicrates [k].

"From whatever quarter the traveller arrives, whether by ſea or land, he views it rearing up its lofty head above the city and the citadel [l]. It is of the Doric order, and built of that beautiful white marble, found in the quarries of Pentelicus, a mountain of Attica. It is one hundred feet wide, about two hundred and twenty-ſix broad, and about ſixty-nine in height †. The portico is double at the two fronts, and ſingle on each ſide. Along the exterior face of the nave runs a frize or architrave, on which is repreſented a proceſſion in honour of Minerva [m]. Theſe baſſo-relievos have added greatly to the fame of the artiſts by whom they were executed.

"Within this temple is that ſtatue ſo celebrated

* See the plate before referred to, Nos. 2 and 3.

[i] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 7, p. 125.

[k] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 159. Strab. lib. 9, p. 395. Pauſan. cap. 41, p. 685.

[l] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part 1, p. 8.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[m] Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 51.

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for its ſize, the richneſs of the materials, and the exquiſite beauty of the workmanſhip. By the ſublime majeſty that irradiates the features, and the whole figure of Minerva, we eaſily recognize the hand of Phidias. The ideas of this artiſt were ſo ſublime, that he has ſucceeded better, if poſſible, in the repreſentation of the gods, than in that of mortals [n]. We are almoſt tempted to ſay that he had viewed the latter from too great a height, but the former face to face.

"This figure is twenty-ſix cubits high. The goddeſs is erect, covered with the ægis and a long tunic [o], holding in one hand a lance, in the other a victory near four cubits high *. Her helmet, on which is a ſphinx, is ornamented on each ſide with two griffins. On the outſide of the ſhield, which lies at the feet of the goddeſs, Phidias has repreſented the battle of the Amazons; on the inſide, the combat of the gods and giants; on her buſkins, that of the Lapithæ and Centaurs; and on the pedeſtal, the birth of Pandora, and a variety of other ſubjects. The viſible parts of the body are of ivory, except the eyes, the iris of which is

[n] Quintil. lib. 12, cap. 10, p. 744.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 24, p. 57 et 58. Plin. lib. 36, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 726. Max. Tyr. diſſ. 14, p. 156. Arrian. in Epict. lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 208.

* The cubit among the Greeks being one of their feet and a half, the height of the figure was 36 of our feet and 10 inches (39 feet 4 inches); and that of the victory, 5 feet 8 inches (6 feet Engliſh).

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imitated by a particular kind of ſtone [p]. This able artiſt has exhibited a wonderful degree of taſte in the execution of his work, and proved that his genius ſtill retained its ſuperiority even in the moſt minute details [q].

" Before he began this ſtatue he was obliged to give an account to the aſſembly of the people, of the materials which he intended to employ. He gave the preference to marble, becauſe its ſplendour ſubſiſts longeſt. Thus far he was liſtened to with attention, but when he added that it was the cheapeſt, he was commanded to ſay no more; and it was determined that the ſtatue ſhould be formed of gold and ivory [r].

" For this purpoſe the pureſt gold was ſelected, and it was neceſſary to provide a quantity of the weight of forty talents *[s]. Phidias, by the ſuggeſtions of Pericles, applied this in ſuch a way as eaſily to admit of being taken off. Two motives induced Pericles to give this advice: he foreſaw that a time might come when it ſhould be neceſſary to employ this gold for the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate, a meaſure which he in fact propoſed at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war [t]. He

[p] Plat. in Hipp. t. iii. p. 290. Plin. lib. 37, p. 787 et 788.
[q] Plin. lib. 36, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 726.
[r] Val. Max. lib. 1, cap. 1, § 7.
* Theſe 40 talents were worth about three millions of livres (125,000 l. ſterling). See note at the end of the volume on the quantity of gold employed to enrich this ſtatue.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13.
[t] Id. ibid.

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foreſaw likewiſe that himſelf as well as Phidias might hereafter be accuſed of having applied part of it to other purpoſes, and of this they afterwards really were accuſed [u]; but by the precautions they had uſed, the ſlanderous charge only redounded to the diſhonour of their enemies *.

" Phidias was reproached likewiſe with having ſculptured his own portrait and that of his patron, on the ſhield of Minerva. He had there repreſented himſelf in the character of an old man in the act of throwing a huge ſtone; and it is pretended that, by an ingenious piece of mechaniſm, this figure was ſo connected with the whole as to make it impoſſible to remove it, without diſuniting and totally deſtroying the ſtatue [x]. Pericles appears fighting with an Amazon. His arm extended and holding a javelin, hides from the ſpectator one half of his countenance. The object of the artiſt in this partial concealment, is only to engage the attention of curioſity.

" To this temple is annexed a treaſury, in which individuals depoſit ſuch ſums of money as they chooſe not to keep at home. There likewiſe are preſerved the offerings made to the goddeſs, which conſiſt of crowns, vaſes, and little figures of the divinities, of gold or ſilver. The Athenian women

[u] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 169.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[x] De Mund. ap. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 613. Cicer. Orat. cap. 71, t. i. p. 481. Id. Tuſcul. lib. 1, cap. 15, t. ii. p. 245.

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likewiſe frequently make offerings in this temple, of their rings, bracelets, and necklaces. Theſe are entruſted to the treaſurers of the goddeſs, who have them under their care during the year they remain in office; on the expiration of which time they deliver to their ſucceſſors a liſt, ſpecifying the weight of each article and the name of the donor. The inventory, which is immediately cut in marble[y], is a teſtimonial of the fidelity of the keepers, and an incentive to private liberality.

"This temple, that of Theſeus, and ſome others, conſtitute the triumph of architecture and ſculpture. Were I to expatiate at large on the beauties of the whole, and on the elegance of the minuter parts, I could add nothing to this eulogium. Be not amazed at the prodigious number of edifices erected in honour of the gods. As manners become more depraved, laws have been proportionally multiplied to prevent crimes, and altars to expiate them become more numerous: beſides that ſuch monuments embelliſh a city, encourage the arts, and are in general conſtructed at the expence of the enemy; for a portion of the ſpoils taken in war is always deſtined to maintain the magnificence of religious worſhip."

Such was the anſwer I wrote to Othanes, the magus. At preſent, without going out of the ci-

[y] Chandl. Inſcript. in notis part 2, p. xv. Poll. lib. 10, cap. 28, § 126.

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tadel, we will take different poſitions, that will ſucceſſively diſplay the whole city to our view.

Of late years, it has extended towards the ſouth-weſt, commerce daily attracting the inhabitants to the vicinity of the Piræus. On that ſide, and to the weſt, we ſee, in the environs of the citadel, at different intervals, rocks and eminences [z] covered in general with houſes. On our right we have the riſing ground on which ſtands the Areopagus, on the left that of the Muſeum, and towards the centre, that of the Pnyx, where, as I have ſaid, the general aſſembly is ſometimes held. We here may obſerve to what a height the two parties that divide Athens carry their mutual jealouſy. As from the top of this hill the Piræus may be diſtinctly ſeen, there was a time when the orators, turning their eyes towards the harbour, uſed every art to induce the people to ſacrifice every other object to their navy. The partizans of the ariſtocracy, deeply offended at this, alleged that the firſt legiſlators had only favoured agriculture, and that Themiſtocles, by uniting the city to the Piræus, and thus connecting the ſea and land, had increaſed the number of the ſailors, and the power of the multitude. Accordingly, after the taking of Athens, the firſt meaſure adopted by the thirty tyrants appointed by Lyſander was to turn the roſtrum

[z] Wheel. Journ. book 5, p. 388. Spon. Chandl. &c.

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from which the orators harangued the people toward the land, whereas it before had always fronted the ſea [a].

I have not taken notice of ſeveral edifices ſituated on the ſides and in the environs of the citadel. Such, among others, are the Odeum and the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The former is a kind of theatre built by Pericles for muſical competitions [b]. In it the ſix junior archons ſometimes hold their meetings [c]. The roof, which is ſupported by columns, is built with the fragments of ſhips of the Perſian fleet defeated at Salamis [d]. The temple of Jupiter Olympius was begun by Piſiſtratus, and would, it is ſaid, had it been finiſhed [e], have been the moſt magnificent of temples.

Your progreſs has been often interrupted, and your eyes have been frequently aſtoniſhed and delighted, in the road we have purſued from the Piræus to the place in which we now are. There are few ſtreets, few ſquares in this city, in which you will not meet with ſimilar objects to excite and gratify curioſity. But do not rely wholly on appearances. The edifice, the moſt uninviting externally, ſometimes contains a precious treaſure

[a] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 121.
[b] Meurſ. in Ceram. cap. 11.
[c] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 869.
[d] Theophr. Charact. cap. 3. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.
[e] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 8. Meurſ. Athen. Attic. cap. 10.

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within. Towards the north, in the quarter of Melita, ſee if you cannot diſcern ſome trees around a houſe that is hardly diſtinguiſhable: that is the abode of Phocion [f]. On this other ſide, in the middle of thoſe houſes, in a little temple dedicated to Venus, is a picture of Zeuxis, repreſenting the god of love crowned with roſes [g]; lower down, near that eminence, ſtands another building, where the rival of Zeuxis has made one of thoſe eſſays which diſcover a ſuperior genius. Parrhaſius, perſuaded that it was within the reach of his art, either by the expreſſion of the countenance, or by the attitude and air of the figures, to render the qualities of the mind and heart perceptible to the eye [h], undertook, in his portrait of the people of Athens, to trace out the character, or rather the various characters, of that violent, unjuſt, gentle, compaſſionate, vain-glorious, crouching, haughty, and timid people [i]. But how has he ſucceeded in this ingenious thought? I will not deprive you of the pleaſure of the ſurpriſe; you ſhall judge for yourſelf.

I have haſtily accompanied you through the city; you are now to view, at one comprehenſive glance, the adjacent country. To the eaſt is Mount Hymettus, which the bees enrich with

[f] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750.
[g] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 991. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ἀνθέμ.
[h] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 781.
[i] Plin. lib. 35, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 693.

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their honey, and which invites you by the fragrancy of its thyme. The Iliſſus, that glides at the foot of it, meanders round our walls; above you ſee the gymnaſia of the Cynoſarges and the Lyceum. To the north-weſt you diſcover the academy, and, a little farther, a hill named Colonos, on which Sophocles has laid the ſcene of his Œdipus Coloneus. The Cephiſus, after enriching this diſtrict with the tribute of its waters, at length mingles them with thoſe of the Iliſſus. Both theſe ſtreams are occaſionally dry during the great heats of ſummer. The proſpect is embelliſhed by handſome country houſes which preſent themſelves to the view on all ſides.

I ſhall conclude, by reminding you of what Lyſippus ſays in one of his comedies: "Whoever does not deſire to ſee Athens is ſtupid; whoever ſees it without being delighted is ſtill more ſtupid; but the height of ſtupidity is to ſee it, to admire it, and to leave it [k]."

[k] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 10. Henr. Steph. Lucub. in Dicæarch. cap. 3. In Theſ. Antiq. Græc. t. xi.

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CHAP. XIII.

Battle of Mantinea *.—Death of Epaminondas.*

GREECE was now on the eve of an important revolution; Epaminondas was at the head of an army; and on his victory or defeat finally depended the queſtion whether the Lacedæmonians or Thebans were to give law to the other ſtates of Greece. The opportunity appeared favourable to him for haſtening this deciſion.

He left Tegea, in Arcadia, in the beginning of the night, with the view of ſurpriſing Lacedæmon[l]. This city is entirely expoſed, and had at that time none but children and old men for its defenders, part of the troops being then in Arcadia, and the remainder on their march thither under the command of Ageſilaus. The Thebans arrived at break of day[m], but found Ageſilaus ready to receive them. Informed by a deſerter of the march

* In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the 12th of the month Scirophorion, correſponding with the 5th of July of the Julian proleptic year 362 before J. C.

[l] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 643. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2, cap. 3, § 10.

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 392.

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of Epaminondas, he had returned home with extraordinary celerity, and his ſoldiers already occupied the moſt important ſtations. The Theban general, ſurpriſed without being diſcouraged, ordered ſeveral attacks. He had penetrated to the forum [a], and made himſelf maſter of one part of the city, when Ageſilaus, then near eighty years of age, liſtening only to the dictates of deſpair [b], ruſhed into the midſt of danger, and, ſeconded by the brave Archidamus his ſon, repulſed the enemy, and compelled them to retire.

On this occaſion, Iſadas performed an action that excited at once the admiration and the ſevere animadverſion of the magiſtrates. This Spartan, ſcarcely out of his childhood, beautiful as the god of love himſelf, and valiant as Achilles, armed only with a lance and ſword, ruſhed through the Lacedæmonian battalions, fell impetuouſly on the Thebans, and laid at his feet all who attempted to withſtand his fury. The ephori decreed him a crown in honour of the courage he had diſplayed, but impoſed on him a fine for having fought without either cuiraſs or buckler [c].

Epaminondas was not moleſted in his retreat; but a victory was become neceſſary, that the failure of his enterprize might be forgotten. He

[a] Polyb. lib. 9, p. 547.
[b] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.
[c] Id. ibid.

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therefore marched into Arcadia, where the principal forces of Greece were then united [q], and the two armies ſoon came in ſight of each other. That of the Lacedæmonians and their allies conſiſted of more than twenty thouſand foot, and near two thouſand horſe; the army of the Theban league, of thirty thouſand infantry, and about three thouſand cavalry [r].

Never did Epaminondas diſplay greater military talents than on this occaſion. In his order of battle, he followed the ſame principles which had procured him the victory of Leuctra [s]. One of his wings, in the form of a column, fell upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which probably would never have been broken, had he not haſtened thither in perſon to animate his troops by his example, and to reinforce them by a choſen body of men. The enemy, diſmayed at his appearance [t], gave way, and took to flight; he purſued them with an ardour which he could no longer reſtrain, and found himſelf ſurrounded by a body of Spartans, who poured on him a ſhower of javelins. After long warding off death, and making a crowd of warriors bite the duſt, he fell by a javelin, the point of which remained broken in his breaſt. The ho-

[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 647.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 393.
[s] Folard, Traité de la Colon. cap. 10, dans le 1er. vol. de la Trad. de Polybe, p. lxi.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 395.

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nour of carrying off his body brought on a renewal of the battle, as warm and bloody as the former attack; but his companions redoubling their exertions, had at length the melancholy conſolation of conveying the hero to his tent.

On the other wing, the fate of the battle long hung in ſuſpenſe. By the prudent diſpoſitions of Epaminondas, the Athenians had it not in their power to ſecond the Lacedæmonians [w]. Their cavalry attacked that of the Thebans, was repulſed with loſs, again rallied, and cut in pieces a detachment poſted by the enemy upon the neighbouring heights. Their infantry was on the point of flying, when the Eleans haſtened to their aſſiſtance [x].

The wound of Epaminondas ſtayed the carnage, and ſuſpended the fury of the ſoldiers. Both armies, equally ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, remained in inaction [y]: the retreat was ſounded on both ſides, and a trophy was erected on the field of battle [z].

Epaminondas ſtill breathed. His friends, his officers, were diſſolved in tears around his bed; and the whole camp reſounded with the cries of grief and deſpair. The phyſician had declared that he would expire the inſtant the iron ſhould be ex-

[w] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 646.
[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 394.
[y] Juſtin. lib. 6, cap. 7.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 396.

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tracted from his wound[a]. All his fears were left his ſhield ſhould have fallen into the hands of the enemy. It was ſhewn him, and he kiſſed it as the inſtrument of his glory and his labours[b]. He ſeemed anxious concerning the fate of the battle. He was told that the Thebans were victorious. "It is well," replied he, "I have lived long enough[c]." He then ordered Daiphantus and Iollidas, generals whom he thought worthy to ſucceed him, to be ſent for. He was informed that they were dead. "Adviſe the Thebans then," ſaid he, "to conclude a peace[d]." He now ordered the point of the javelin to be drawn out; and one of his friends exclaiming, in the diſtraction of his grief: "You die, Epaminondas! had you but left any children!" "I leave," anſwered he expiring, "two immortal daughters; the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea[e]."

His death was preceded by that of Timagenes, the kind and affectionate friend who had brought me into Greece. He had ſuddenly diſappeared, a week before the battle. A letter, left by him on the table of his niece Epicharis, informed us that he was gone to join Epaminondas, with whom he had pre-concerted meaſures during his reſidence

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 396.
[b] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 2, cap. 30, t. ii. p. 135. Id. Epiſt. Famil. lib. 5, epiſt. 12, t. vii. p. 163. Juſtin. ibid. cap. 8.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 396. Nep. in Epam. cap. 9.
[d] Plut. Apopht. t. ii. p. 194.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 396.

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at Thebes, but that it was his intention ſpeedily to return never to leave us more. If the gods, added he, ſhould otherwiſe ordain, remember all that Anacharſis has done for me, nor forget what you have promiſed to do for him.

My heart felt the ſevereſt pangs when I read this letter. I wiſhed inſtantly to follow him; it was my duty ſo to do; but Timagenes had but too well concerted his precautions to prevent me. Apollodorus, who at his requeſt had juſt obtained for me the privileges of a citizen of Athens, repreſented to me the impoſſibility of bearing arms againſt my new country, without expoſing him and his family. This conſideration prevailed, and I did not follow my friend; I was not witneſs of his heroic actions; and I did not periſh with him!

His image is ever preſent to my mind. Thirty years have ſince elapſed, yet is it but a moment that I have loſt him. Twice have I attempted his eulogium, twice has it been obliterated by my tears. But had I even poſſeſſed the power to finiſh, I ſhould have had the reſolution to ſuppreſs it. The virtues of an obſcure man are intereſting only to his friends, nor can they even claim to be held forth as an example.

The troubles of Greece were eventually increaſed by the battle of Mantinea[f]; but its immediate

[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, cap. 647.

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effect was to terminate the war [g]. The Athenians, previous to their departure, took care to collect the bodies of their countrymen who had fallen in battle; and after they were consumed on the funeral pile, their bones were carried to Athens, and a day was fixed for the ceremony of their last obsequies, at which one of the principal magistrates presided [h].

This began by exposing under a large tent the coffins of cypress wood which contained the bones of the deceased. Such as had lost any relation, both men and women, came there from time to time to make libations, and acquit themselves of the duties enjoined by religion and natural affection [i]. Three days after, the coffins, placed on as many cars as there are tribes, proceeded slowly through the city to the Ceramicus without the walls, where funereal games were exhibited. They were then deposited in the earth, after their friends and relations had bathed them for the last time with their tears; and an orator, publicly appointed for the occasion, rising up, pronounced the funeral eulogium of these brave warriors [k]. Each tribe erected cippi or half columns over the tombs of its soldiers, on which were inscribed their names

[g] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 616.
[h] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 91.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 34.
[k] Lys. Orat. Funeb. p. 26 et 27.

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and thoſe of their fathers, their birth place, and name of the place near which they fell.

The road leading from the city to the academy is lined with theſe cippi[1]. Others are ſeen ſcattered in different places in the vicinity. Here lie thoſe who fell in the war of Ægina; there thoſe who were ſlain in Cyprus; farther on ſuch as periſhed in the Sicilian expedition. It is impoſſible to advance a ſtep without treading on the aſhes of a hero, or of a victim ſacrificed to his country. I ſaw the ſoldiers who were returned from Peloponneſus, and had attended at the ceremony, ſtraying among theſe funeral monuments, pointing out to each other the names of their anceſtors and fathers, and ſeeming to anticipate the honours which were one day to be paid to their own memories.

[1] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 29.

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CHAP. XIV.

Of the preſent Government of Athens.

AS I ſhall ſometimes make a tranſition from one ſubject to another without apprizing the reader, it is neceſſary to juſtify my method.

Athens was my uſual place of reſidence: though, frequently, in company with my friend Philotas, I made excurſions into the neighbouring or more diſtant countries, from whence we again returned to that city. At every interval of my ſtay I reſumed my reſearches, and gave the preference to ſome particular object. The order of this work therefore is, as I have already ſaid, only that of a journal, in which, to the narrative of my travels, and the recital of remarkable events, I have added ſuch obſervations as I could collect on intereſting ſubjects. I had begun by an enquiry into the Athenian government, of which, in my introduction, I contented myſelf with developing the general principles; I ſhall now enter into more extenſive details, and conſider it with the changes and abuſes that have been ſucceſſively introduced by a ſeries of unhappy circumſtances.

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The cities and towns of Attica are divided into one hundred and ſeventy-four departments or diſtricts [m], which are again united into, and form, ten tribes. All the citizens, thoſe even who reſide at Athens, belong to one of theſe diſtricts, are obliged to enrol their names in its regiſters, and by that act are conſequently claſſed in one or other of the tribes.

Towards the end of every year [n], the tribes ſeparately aſſemble to elect a ſenate, conſiſting of five hundred deputies, who muſt have attained at leaſt the age of thirty [o]. Each of theſe tribes elects fifty, to which the ſame number of ſubſidiaries are added, to ſupply the places that may fall vacant by the death, or irregular conduct of any of the acting deputies [p]. Both deputies and ſubſtitutes are choſen by lot [q].

The new ſenators muſt undergo a rigorous ſcrutiny [r]; for irreproachable morals are required in men appointed to govern others. They afterward take an oath, by which they promiſe, among other things, to give none but ſalutary counſel to the republic, to judge according to the laws, to ſend

[m] Strab. lib. 9, p. 896. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2, p. 284. Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. i. diſſert. 5.
[n] Argum. in Androt. Orat. p. 697. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 186.
[o] Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 1, p. 717.
[p] Harpocr. in Ἐπιλαχ.
[q] Id. ibid. Andocid. de Myſt. part. 2, p. 13.
[r] Lyſ. adv. Philon. p. 487.

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no citizen to prison who is able to find bail, unless accused of a conspiracy against the state, or of embezzling the public revenue [s].

The senate elected by the representatives of the ten tribes, is naturally divided into ten classes, each of which by turns has the pre-eminence over the others. This pre-eminence is determined by lot [t], and its duration limited to the space of thirty-six days for the four first classes, and thirty-five for the others [u].

The class which possesses this temporary superiority over the rest, is named the class of the prytanes [x], and is maintained at the public expence [y], in a place called the Prytaneum. But as it is yet too numerous collectively to exercise its functions, it is subdivided into five decuriæ or committees, each composed of ten proedri or presidents [z]; the seven seniors of whom, during seven successive days, occupy alternately the chief place; the three others never attain this situation during the whole year.

He who fills it is considered as the chief of the senate, and his functions are so important, that it

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[s] Petit. Leg. Att. p. 192.

[t] Argum. in Androt. Orat. p. 697. Suid. in Πρυτ.

[u] Suid. ib. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 189. Corsin. Fast. Att. diss. 2, p. 103.

[x] Harpocr. et Suid. in Πρυτ.

[y] Demosth. de Cor. p. 501. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 15, § 155. Ammon. ap. Harpocr. in Θόλ.

[z] Argum. in Androt. ut suprà.

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has been thought proper to entruſt him with his authority only for one day. He it is who generally propoſes the ſubjects of diſcuſſion; collects the ſuffrages of the ſenate; and, during the ſhort duration of his office, has the ſeal of the republic, the keys of the citadel, and thoſe of the treaſury of Minerva, in his cuſtody [a].

Theſe various arrangements, always determined by lot, are intended to maintain the moſt perfect degree of equality among the citizens, and as barriers for the greater ſafety of the ſtate. Not an Athenian but may become a member and chief of the higheſt body of the republic; not an individual but may, by merit or intrigues, have an opportunity to abuſe an authority confided to him, though but for a few moments.

The nine other claſſes, or chambers of the ſenate, have in like manner a preſident at their head, who is changed at each meeting, and is each time drawn for by lot, by the chief of the prytanes [b]. On certain occaſions, theſe nine preſidents carry the decrees of the ſenate to the general aſſembly; and the firſt in order of them collects the ſuffrages of the people [c]. On others, this is performed by the chief of the prytanes, or one of his aſſiſtants [d] *.

[a] Suid. in Ἐπιστ. Argum. Orat. Demoſth. in Androt. p. 697.
[b] Harpocr. in Πρόεδ. et in Ἐπιστάτ. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 191.
[c] Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. i. p. 276 et 286.
[d] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 60. Schol. ibid. Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 14. Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 368; et alii.
* See note at the end of the volume.

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The ſenate is annually re-elected, and is expected, while its authority continues, to exclude thoſe of its members whoſe conduct has been reprehenſible [e], and to deliver up its accounts previous to its diſſolution [f]. If the people are ſatisfied with its conduct, they decree it a crown; a reward which is withheld when it has neglected to build gallies [g]. The members who compoſe it receive a drachma [h] a day for their attendance [*]. It meets every day, except on feſtivals, and days conſidered as unfortunate [i]. It is the duty of the prytanes to convene it, and to prepare the ſubjects of deliberation. As it repreſents the tribes, it is in its turn repreſented by the prytanes, who, conſtantly collected in one place, are always at hand to watch over ſuch dangers as may threaten the republic, and to give timely notice to the ſenate.

During the thirty-five or thirty-ſix days that the claſs of prytanes are in office, the people aſſemble four times [k]; and theſe four aſſemblies, which fall on the 11th, the 20th, 30th, and 33d days of the prytany, are called ordinary aſſemblies.

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[e] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 277.
[f] Id. in Cteſiph. p. 430 et 431.
[g] Demoſth. adv. Androt. p. 700. Arg. ejuſd. Orat.
[h] Heſych. in Βολ.
[*] Eighteen ſols (or nine pence).
[i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 193.
[k] Ariſt. ap. Harpocr. in Κυρία. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 4. Pott. Archæolog. Græc. lib. 1, cap. 17. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 196.

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On the first of these days they confirm or remove the magistrates just entered into office [l]. The garrisons and fortresses that constitute the security of the state are the next objects of consideration [m], as well as certain public informations, and the assembly concludes by publishing the confiscations of property ordered by the courts of justice [n]. On the second, every citizen who has previously deposited on the altar an olive-branch bound with a sacred fillet, may freely discourse on all subjects relative to the administration and government. The third is set apart to receive heralds and ambassadors who have first given an account of their mission [o], or presented their credentials to the senate [p]. The fourth is appropriated to religious matters, such as festivals, sacrifices, &c.

The object of these assemblies being known, and their discussions frequently uninteresting, it became necessary, not long since, to drag the people thither by violence, or to force them by penalties to give attendance [q]. But they are more assiduous since the government has adopted the measure of granting three oboli * as a reward for their appear-

[l] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 95.
[m] Arist. ap. Harpocr. ibid.
[n] Poll. ibid.
[o] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 397 et 402. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296 et 298.
[p] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 96.
[q] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 22. Schol. ibid.
* Nine sols (or four-pence halfpenny).

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ance[r]; and as there is no punishment for absence, it unavoidably happens that the poorer sort attend in greater numbers than the rich; a circumstance very consonant to the spirit of democracies[s].

Besides these assemblies, extraordinary ones are held when the state is menaced with approaching danger[t]. These are convoked by the prytanes[u], and more frequently by the commanders of the troops[x], in the name and with the permission of the senate. When circumstances permit, the invitation is extended to all the inhabitants of Attica[y].

Women cannot be present at the public assembly, nor have men that right till they have passed their twentieth year. This privilege is forfeited by him who is stigmatized with infamy; and a stranger who should usurp it, is punishable by death, inasmuch as he is deemed to have usurped the sovereign power[z], or obtained the means of betraying the secrets of the state[a].

The meeting of the assembly begins very early in

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[r] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 330. Id. in Eccles. v. 292 et 308. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 205.

[s] Xenoph. Memorab. p. 775. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 13, t. ii. p. 378.

[t] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 406. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 116.

[u] Æsch. ibid. p. 403 et 404.

[x] Demosth. de Cor. p. 478, 484, et 500.

[y] Hesych. in Κατακλ.

[z] Esprit des Lois, lib. 2, chap. 2.

[a] Liban. declam. 28, t. i. p. 617.

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the morning [b], and is held either in the theatre of Bacchus, in the public market, or in a ſpacious place near the citadel, named the Pnyx [c]. Six thouſand ſuffrages are requiſite to give the force of law to ſeveral of its decrees [d]. It is not, however, at all times practicable to obtain this number; and during the whole courſe of the Peloponneſian war it was found impoſſible to collect more than five thouſand citizens [e] in the general aſſembly.

The chiefs of the ſenate on important occaſions preſide at the aſſemblies [f], and the whole ſenate is preſent at them in a body. The military officers have a diſtinguiſhed place aſſigned them [g], and the city guard, compoſed of Scythians, attends to maintain order [h].

When every one is ſeated [i], and the place in which the aſſembly meets luſtrated by the blood of victims [k], a herald riſes up and repeats a formulary of vows, which are pronounced alſo in the ſenate as often as they proceed to deliberation [l]. With theſe prayers, addreſſed to heaven for the proſperity of the ſtate, are intermingled dreadful

[b] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 736.
[c] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 4.
[d] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 875. Id. in Timocr. p. 780.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 8, cap. 72.
[f] Ariſtoph. Schol. in Acharn. v. 60.
[g] Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 408.
[h] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid.
[i] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 751 et 782. Id. in Eccleſ. v. 165.
[k] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 263. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 43. Schol. ad. verſ. 44.
[l] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 304.

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imprecations againſt the orator who ſhall have received preſents to deceive the people, the ſenate, or the tribunal of the Heliaſtæ [m]. The ſubject for deliberation is next propoſed to the aſſembly, which is generally contained in a preliminary decree of the ſenate, and is read with a loud voice [n]. The herald then proclaims: "Let every citizen, who can give uſeful counſel to his country, mount the roſtrum, beginning by thoſe who are more than fifty years of age." For it was formerly neceſſary to have paſſed that age to be permitted to ſpeak firſt on any ſubject under deliberation; but this regulation is now neglected [o], as well as many others.

Although from this moment every man preſent is at perfect liberty to aſcend the roſtrum, yet we rarely ſee any other than the ſtate orators avail themſelves of this privilege. Theſe are ten citizens diſtinguiſhed by their abilities, and eſpecially employed to defend the intereſts of the country in the aſſemblies of the ſenate and the people [p].

When the queſtion is ſufficiently diſcuſſed, the proedri, or preſidents of the ſenate, call for a deciſion of the people on the decree that is propoſed to them. Sometimes they give their ſuffrages by

[m] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 741. Dicæarch. in Ariſtog. p. 107.
[n] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 299.
[o] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 264; in Cteſiph. p. 428.
[p] Ariſtot. ap. Scol. Ariſtoph. Veſp. v. 689. Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 428. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 850.

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ballot, but oftener by holding up of hands; which is a ſign of approbation. The plurality of ſuffrages once aſcertained, and the decree read a third time without oppoſition, the preſidents diſmiſs the aſſembly, which breaks up with the ſame noiſe and tumult as have prevailed through the whole courſe of the deliberations [q].

On certain occaſions, when the popular leaders have reaſon to dread the influence of powerful men, they have recourſe to a method occaſionally practiſed in other cities of Greece [r]. They propoſe voting by tribes [s], and the vote of each tribe is always in the power of the poorer ſort, who are more numerous than the rich.

By theſe various modes is it that the ſupreme authority, which reſides eſſentially in the people, manifeſts its pleaſure. It is the people who decide on peace and war [t], who receive ambaſſadors, who confirm or abrogate laws, who nominate to almoſt every office, impoſe taxes, grant the privileges of a citizen to foreigners, and decree rewards to thoſe who have rendered ſervice to their country [u].

The ſenate is the permanent council of the people. The members of this body are generally

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[q] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 24. Plat. de Rep. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 492.
[r] Æneæ Poliorc. Comment. cap. 11.
[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 449.
[t] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 139. Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 296. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 404.
[u] Thucyd. Xenoph. Demoſth. &c. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 4.

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perſons of knowledge and ability. The ſcrutiny they have undergone previous to their entrance into office proves at leaſt that their conduct has been thought irreproachable, and is a preſumption in favour of the rectitude of their intentions.

The people can enact nothing which has not firſt met with the approbation of the ſenate. It is to the ſenate, in the firſt inſtance, that all decrees * relative to the adminiſtration or government muſt be preſented by the chief of the company, or one of the preſidents [x]. They are then diſcuſſed by the public orators, and modified, accepted, or rejected, by a majority of votes, in a body of five hundred citizens, moſt of whom having filled the higheſt offices of the republic, unite information to experience.

Decrees, as they are paſſed by them, and previous to their being confirmed by the people, remain in force during the exiſtence of this ſenate [y], but the ratification of the people can alone give them a durable authority.

Such was the inſtitution of Solon, whoſe intention it was that the people ſhould have it in their power to do nothing without the ſenate, and that their proceedings ſhould be ſo regulated, as to

* See note at the end of the volume.

[x] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 54; de Cor. p. 500; in Androt. p. 699. Liban. Argum. in eand. Orat. p. 696. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88. Harpocr. in Προβουλ.

[y] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 740. Ulpian. p. 766.

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produce the greateſt poſſible advantages with the feweſt ſources of diſſenſion. But to effect and maintain this happy harmony, it would have been expedient to inveſt the ſenate with the means of awing the people.

But as this body changes every year, and its officers every day, it has neither time nor intereſt ſufficient to retain any portion of authority; and as, at the expiration of its annual functions, it has honours and favours to look up for from the people [a], it is reduced to conſider them in the light of its benefactors, and conſequently its maſters. There is in truth no real ſubject of diviſion between theſe two bodies; but the inconveniences reſulting from their jealouſy would be leſs dangerous than that union which now ſubſiſts between them. The decrees approved of by the ſenate are not only rejected in the aſſembly of the people, but we every day ſee ſimple individuals ſubſtitute others in their room, the offſpring of their private opinions, which are eagerly adopted by the multitude, without any previous knowledge of their tendency. To this licentiouſneſs, the preſidents oppoſe their right of terminating all diſputes. Sometimes they direct the people to deliberate only on the decree of the ſenate; ſometimes they endeavour to make the new propoſitions fall to the

[a] Demoſth. in Androt. p. 700.

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ground, by refuſing to put them to the vote, and by poſtponing the diſcuſſion to the next aſſembly. But the multitude almoſt always revolt againſt the exerciſe of a right that prevents them from deliberating, or thwarts their views, and by tumultuous clamour compel the leaders who oppoſe their will to reſign their places to other preſidents, who inſtantly gratify them in the enjoyment of a liberty of which they are ſo jealous [a].

Simple individuals now poſſeſs an influence in the public deliberations which ſhould appertain only to the ſenate [b]. Some of theſe are factious perſons of the loweſt extraction, who hurry away the multitude by their effrontery; others, wealthy citizens, who corrupt them by a falſe liberality. But thoſe who have the moſt weight are men of eloquence, who, laying aſide every other occupation, devote their whole time to the adminiſtration of the ſtate.

Theſe generally make their firſt eſſays in the courts of juſtice; and when they have there diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oratory, they then, under pretext of ſerving their country, but more frequently to promote their ambitious views, enter into a nobler track, and undertake the arduous taſk of inſtructing the ſenate, and guiding the

[a] Æſch. de Falſ. Leg. p. 408. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 449.

[b] Demoſth. Olynth. 3, p. 39. Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 369.

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people. Their profeſſion, to which they dedicate themſelves at an early period of life [c], requires, with the ſacrifice of their liberty, profound knowledge and exalted genius. For it is not ſufficient for an orator to be minutely acquainted with the hiſtory, the laws, the neceſſities, and forces of the republic, and the relative ſituation of the neighbouring and remote powers [d]; to follow with a ſteadfaſt eye thoſe rapid or more tardy efforts that all ſtates are perpetually exerting againſt each other, and thoſe almoſt imperceptible motions which are internally working their deſtruction; to avoid alarming the jealouſy of the feeble and allied nations, and to diſconcert the meaſures of the powerful and hoſtile; to diſcriminate, in fine, the real intereſts of the country amidſt a multitude of combinations and connections: he muſt alſo be able to enforce on the public mind thoſe great truths, with the importance of which he is himſelf ſenſibly impreſſed; he muſt learn to be moved neither by the menaces nor the applauſes of the people; to brave the hatred of the rich by ſubjecting them to heavy impoſts, that of the multitude by forcing them from their pleaſure or repoſe, and that of the other orators by detecting and diſcovering their intrigues; he muſt be prepared to be reſponſible alike for events which he had it not in his power to prevent, and for

[c] Æſchin. Epiſt. 12, p. 213.
[d] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 520; ibid. cap. 8.

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thoſe it was impoſſible to foreſee[e]; to be the victim, by his diſgrace, of projects that have proved abortive, and ſometimes even of thoſe which have been juſtified by ſucceſs; to appear full of confidence in the hour of imminent danger and univerſal terror, and by prompt expedients to re-animate declining hope; to fly to the neighbouring ſtates, and with them form powerful leagues; to enkindle an ardent thirſt for war by the enthuſiaſm of liberty; and, after performing the duties of the ſtateſman, the orator, and ambaſſador, to repair to the field of battle, and ſeal with his blood the advice he has given to the people from the roſtrum.

Such is the lot of thoſe who are at the head of the government. The laws, foreſeeing the empire that men at once ſo uſeful and ſo dangerous may aſſume over the minds of the people, have ordained that their abilities ſhould not be called into exertion till ample teſtimony can be borne to their moral conduct. They exclude from the roſtrum[f] the man who ſhall be proved to have ſtruck his parents, or who has denied them the means of ſubſiſtence: for how can he feel the love of his country, whoſe heart is ſhut to the ſentiments of nature? They exclude the citizen who has diſſipated the inheritance of his father, ſince he

[e] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 513.
[f] Æſchin. adv. Timarch. p. 264.

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would laviſh the treaſures of the ſtate with ſtill greater unconcern; the man alſo who has no legitimate offspring [g], or poſſeſſes no property in Attica; for without theſe ties, his attachment to the republic can be at beſt but vague and equivocal, ſince it is not ſtrengthened by private intereſt: whoever likewiſe has refuſed to take arms at the command of the general [h], abandoned his ſhield in battle, or addicted himſelf to ſhameful pleaſures, is not permitted to ſpeak in the aſſembly, becauſe cowardice and corruption, almoſt inſeparable companions, would expoſe his mind to every ſpecies of treachery; beſides that no man, who is unable either to defend his country by his valour, or edify it by his example, can be worthy to inſtruct it by his counſel.

The orator then muſt aſcend the roſtrum with the conſciouſneſs and authority of an irreproachable private life. It is to be obſerved likewiſe, that formerly thoſe who ſpoke in public, accompanied their harangues only with a noble, ſedate, and artleſs action, ſimple as the virtues which they practiſed, and the truths it was their object to declare; nor is it yet forgotten that Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, and Pericles, almoſt motionleſs on the tribunal, and with their hands concealed in their

[g] Din. adv. Demoſth. in Oper. Demoſth. p. 182.
[h] Æſchin. adv. Timarch. p. 264.

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mantles [i], derived as much weight from the gravity of their demeanour as from the powers of their eloquence.

Far from imitating theſe examples, the modern orators in general exhibit in their features, their exclamations, their geſtures, and their garments [k], nothing but an extravagant agitation, and a diſguſting indecency.

This however is but a trifling ſymptom of the infamy of their general conduct. Some ſell their talents and their honour to powers at enmity with Athens; others have wealthy citizens at their command, who by a tranſient ſervility hope to attain the higheſt offices; while all, waging with each other a perpetual war of reputation and of intereſt, aſpire to the glory and emolument of governing the moſt enlightened people of Greece and of the world.

Hence thoſe cabals and diviſions which are inceſſantly fermenting in the heart of the republic, and breaking out with violence in the tumultuous aſſemblies: for the people, ſo ſervile in their obedience, ſo terrible when they obtain the ſway, carry thither, with their natural licentiouſneſs of manners, that abhorrence of reſtraint which they deem a precious portion of their ſovereignty. There all their paſſions are extreme, and their exceſſes paſſed

[i] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 264.
[k] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 528.

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over with impunity. Thither the orators repair, like so many chiefs of parties, now seconded by military officers whose protection they have secured, and now attended by factious subalterns whose fury they can moderate at pleasure. No sooner do they make their appearance in the lists, than they commence the attack by insults [l] which animate the multitude, or by strokes of pleasantry which transport them beyond themselves. Presently the clamours, the applauses, the bursts of laughter [m], that arise from all sides, stifle the voice of the senators who preside at the assembly, of the guards stationed on every side to maintain order [n], nay even of the orator [o], who sees his decree fall to the ground by the same paltry artifices that so often overthrow a dramatic piece at the theatre of Bacchus.

In vain has a remedy been for some time past attempted, by ordering one of the ten tribes, drawn by lot at each assembly, to take their stations around the rostrum to prevent confusion, and fly to the succour of the violated laws [p]: they are themselves hurried along by the torrent which they are endeavouring to stem; and the futility of their

[l] Aristoph. in Eccles. p. 142. Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 428.
[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 492. Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 297 et 310.
[n] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid.
[o] Aristoph. ibid. v. 37. Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 300 et 310.
[p] Æschin. in Tim. p. 265; in Ctesiph. p. 428.

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assistance serves only to evince the magnitude of an evil, perpetuated not only by the nature of the government, but still more by the character of the Athenians.

In fact, that people, highly susceptible as they are of lively and transient sensations, stand distinguished beyond all other nations for uniting the most discordant qualities, and such as may most easily be abused to mislead them.

History represents them to us, sometimes as an old dotard who may be deceived with impunity [q], or as an infant who requires continual amusement; and sometimes as displaying the discernment and sentiments of elevated minds; as passionately fond of pleasure and of liberty, of indolence and of glory; as intoxicated with flattery, yet receiving merited reproach with applause [r]; as possessing sufficient penetration to apprehend at a word the plans proposed to them [s], but too impatient to listen to the particulars or to foresee their consequences; as making their magistrates tremble before them, and at the very moment pardoning their most bitter enemies; as passing, with the rapidity of lightning, from rage to compassion, from despondence to insolence, from injustice to repentance; as fickle beyond conception; and so frivolous [t], that in the

[q] Aristoph. Equit. v. 710, 749, &c.
[r] Plut. Præc. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 799.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 38.
[t] Plin. lib. 35, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 693. Corn. Nep. in Timoth. cap. 3.

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moſt ſerious, nay the moſt deſperate ſituation of affairs, a ſingle word ſpoken at random, a happy ſally of pleaſantry, the ſmalleſt object, the moſt trivial incident, provided it be unexpected, ſuffices to diſpel their fears, or to divert them from their moſt important intereſts.

Thus was it that the whole aſſembly was once ſeen to riſe and run after a little bird that Alcibiades, when young, and ſpeaking for the firſt time in public, had inadvertently ſuffered to eſcape from his boſom [y].

Thus alſo was it, that about the ſame time the orator Cleon, who was become the idol of the Athenians, without poſſeſſing any portion of their eſteem, ſported with the popular favour with impunity. The people were aſſembled, and waiting for him with impatience, when he at length appeared to requeſt them to defer the deliberation to another day, becauſe, expecting ſome foreigners of his acquaintance to dine with him, he had not leiſure to employ himſelf about ſtate affairs. The aſſembly immediately roſe, gave him loud plaudits, and the influence of the orator was but increaſed by this extraordinary behaviour [z].

I ſaw them myſelf one day extremely uneaſy at ſome hoſtilities that had lately been committed by

[y] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195. Id. Præcept. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 799.

[z] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 527. Id. Præcept. Ger. Reip. ibid.

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Philip, and that threatened an immediate rupture. At the moment when their minds were in the greateſt agitation, a very little and deformed man ſtood up to ſpeak. This was Leon, ambaſſador from Byzantium, who, though his perſonal appearance was of the moſt unfavourable kind, poſſeſſed much of that wit and preſence of mind ſo highly pleaſing to the Athenians. At ſight of him, they burſt into ſuch violent fits of laughter, that Leon could ſcarcely obtain a moment's ſilence. At length he ſaid: "What would you ſay then did you but ſee my wife? She hardly reaches to my knees. Yet, little as we are, when we diſagree, the city of Byzantium is not large enough to hold us." This pleaſantry was ſo ſucceſsful, that the Athenians immediately granted the ſuccours he came to ſolicit [y].

In a word, they have been known, after expreſſing the utmoſt indignation at ſome intercepted letters of Philip, which they ordered to be read before them, to pay notwithſtanding ſo great a reſpect to the letters written by that prince to his queen, as to order them to be ſent to her unopened [z].

As nothing is more eaſy than to underſtand and to inflame the paſſions and taſtes of ſuch a people, it is alſo extremely eaſy to acquire their confidence, nor is it leſs ſo to loſe it; but,

[y] Plut. Præcept. Ger. Reip. t. ij. p. 804.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 799.

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whilſt in favour, there is nothing which the popular leader may not ſay or undertake, and he may perſuade them to adopt good or evil meaſures with an equal degree of ardour. When guided by firm and virtuous men, they beſtowed the offices of the magiſtracy, embaſſies, and the command of armies, only on great abilities united with virtue. In our days they have frequently made a choice at which they ſhould have bluſhed [a]; but it is the fault of the flatterers who direct them, flatterers as dangerous as thoſe of tyrants [b], and who, like them, bluſh only when diſgraced.

The ſenate being dependent on the people, and the people abandoning themſelves without reſerve [c] to their favourite orators, by whom they are miſled, if any thing can preſerve the democracy it muſt be private enmities [d]; it muſt be the facility of proſecuting an orator who makes an improper uſe of his influence. In this caſe he is accuſed of tranſgreſſing the laws; and as the charge may be relative either to his perſon, or the nature of the decree he has propoſed [e], hence ariſe two kinds of accuſation to which he is perpetually liable.

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[a] Eupol. ap. Stob. p. 239.

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 369.

[c] Demoſth. olynth. 3, p. 39. Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Id. in Lept. p. 541.

[d] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 260. Melanth. ap. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 20.

[e] Iſæus ap. Harpocr. in ξενος γραφ.

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The object of the first is to stigmatize him in the eyes of his fellow citizens. If he has received presents to betray his country, if his private conduct be found sullied with any mark of infamy, and especially with those crimes I have already mentioned, and from which his public functions require him to be exempt, every individual is then permitted to commence a prosecution against him. This prosecution, which assumes different names according to the nature of the offence[f], is commenced before a magistrate, who takes cognizance, in the first instance, of the delinquency in question. When the fault is trivial, he sentences him to a trifling penalty[g]; when more important, he refers the case to a superior tribunal; and if the crime be proved, the accused, among other punishments, undergoes that of never more ascending the rostrum.

Nor have orators, whose circumspect conduct shelters them from this first species of accusation, less to apprehend on that account from the second, which is termed an accusation on account of illegality[h].

Amidst that multitude of decrees we see from time to time enacted with the sanction of the senate and the people, some there are in manifest

[f] Harpocr. et Suid. in ξητορ. γραφ.
[g] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, p. 885.
[h] Hume, Political Discourses, disc. 9, v. 2. p. 2.

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contradiction to the welfare of the ſtate, and which it is important not to ſuffer to ſubſiſt. But as they were the acts of the legiſlative power, it ſhould ſeem that no authority, no tribunal, is competent to annul them. The people themſelves ſhould not attempt it, leſt the orators, who have already taken them by ſurpriſe [i], ſhould again miſlead them. What reſource then ſhall there be for the republic? A law, ſingular indeed at firſt ſight, but admirable in its nature, and ſo eſſential as to render it impoſſible either to ſuppreſs or to neglect it, without deſtroying the democracy [k]; I mean, the law that authorizes the very loweſt citizen to appeal from a judgment of the whole people, whenever he is able to demonſtrate that the new decree is contrary to the laws already eſtabliſhed.

In theſe circumſtances, it is the inviſible ſovereign, it is the laws which loudly proteſt againſt the national judgment that has violated them; it is in the name of the laws that the accuſation is brought forward; it is before the tribunal, which is the chief depoſitary and avenger of the laws, that it is proſecuted; and the judges, by ſetting aſide the decree, only pronounce that the authority of the people has happened unintentionally to claſh with that of the laws; or rather they maintain the

[i] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 448. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 541.
[k] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 797. Æſch. in Cteſ. p. 428 et 459.

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ancient and permanent decisions of the people against their present and transient inclinations.

This remonstrance of the laws having suspended the power which the people had given to their decree, and it being impracticable to proceed judicially against the people, an action can only be brought against the orator who proposed the obnoxious decree, and accordingly it is against him that the accusation for illegality is brought. And it is laid down as a principle, that since he has voluntarily interfered in the administration, he has exposed himself to the alternative of honour when he succeeds, and of punishment when his projects prove abortive[1].

The cause is first discussed either before the first or before the last six of the archons[m]. The preliminary proceedings gone through, it is removed to the tribunal of the heliastæ, generally composed of five hundred, and sometimes of a thousand, of fifteen hundred, or two thousand judges. It lies with the same magistrates to determine, according to the nature of the offence, the number they would choose to have for judges, which they have sometimes increased to six thousand[n].

The decree may be attacked when it has only

[1] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 309.
[m] Demosth. de Cor. p. 481. Id. in Leptin. p. 555.
[n] Andoc. de Myst. p. 3.

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paſſed the ſenate, or the accuſer may wait till it is confirmed by the people. But, whichever of theſe meaſures it may be thought proper to adopt, the action muſt be brought within the year to ſubject the orator to puniſhment. That period once expired, he is no longer reſponſible for his decree.

After the proſecutor has produced his arguments for annulling the decree, and the accuſed has finiſhed his defence, the queſtion is put to the vote[o]. If the former does not obtain the fifth part of the ſuffrages, he is obliged to pay five hundred drachmas to the public treaſury[p] *, and there is an end to the affair. If the deciſion be unfavourable to the latter, he may ſtill petition for a mitigation of the penalty; but he ſeldom eſcapes baniſhment, interdiction, or heavy pecuniary fines. Here, as in ſome other cauſes of a different nature, the intervals for the pleadings and the judgment are divided into three ſittings; the one for the perſon who proſecutes, the other for the accuſed to make his defence, and the third, when it takes place, to decide on the puniſhment[q].

Not an orator but ſhudders at this accuſation, not a manœuvre but he puts in practice to ward off its conſequences. Prayers, tears, negligence

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[o] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 460.

[p] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 489 et 490. Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 397.

* 450 livres (or 18 l. 15 s. ſterling).

[q] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 397.

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of dreſs, the protection of military officers [r]; all the artifices of eloquence, all the ſtratagems of policy, are made uſe of by the accuſed and his friends.

Theſe means are often but too ſucceſsful; and we have ſeen the orator Ariſtophon boaſt of having been the object of no leſs than ſeventy-five accuſations of this kind, and of having always eſcaped triumphant [s]. Nevertheleſs, as every orator procures ſeveral decrees to be paſſed during his adminiſtration; as it is eſſential for him to multiply them in order to maintain his authority; as he is ſurrounded by enemies rendered quickſighted by jealouſy; as it is eaſy, by remote deductions, or forced interpretations, to diſcover ſome contrariety between his opinions, his conduct, and the numerous laws that are in force, it is almoſt impoſſible but that he muſt, ſooner or later, fall a victim to the accuſations from which he is inceſſantly in danger.

I have ſaid that the laws of Athens are numerous. Beſides thoſe of Draco which ſtill in part ſubſiſt [t], beſides thoſe of Solon which form the baſis of the civil code, many others have been introduced, either originating in the circumſtances of the times, or which have been adopted through the influence of orators [u].

[r] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 428.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 459.
[t] Demoſth. in Everg. p. 1062. Andoc. de Myſt. part 2, p. 11.
[u] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554.

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In every government it is a work of difficulty to ſuppreſs an ancient law, and to ſupply its place by a new one; and this difficulty muſt be ſtill greater with a people who, at once ſubjects and ſovereigns, are always tempted to alleviate or ſhake off the yoke they have impoſed upon themſelves. Solon had ſo bound up the hands of the legiſlative power, as to diſable it from touching the foundations of his legiſlation, except with the moſt extreme precaution.

An individual who propoſes to abrogate an ancient law, muſt at the ſame time be ready to ſubſtitute another [x]. Both of theſe he preſents to the ſenate [y], which, after maturely weighing them, either diſapproves the intended change, or commands the proper officers to lay an account of it before the people in the general aſſembly whoſe buſineſs it is, among other things, to examine and reviſe the laws in force [z]. This is the aſſembly held on the 11th day of the firſt month of the year [a]. If it appears expedient that the law ſhould actually be repealed, the prytanes refer the matter to the next aſſembly, which is uſually held nineteen days after; and five orators are previouſly nominated, who are appointed to undertake the defence of the law propoſed to be abrogated. In

[x] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554; et in Timocr. p. 778.
[y] Id. in Timocr. p. 781.
[z] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 776.
[a] Ulpian. in Tim. p. 811.

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the interval, this law, as well as that to be offered in its place, is daily affixed to certain ſtatues and expoſed to every eye[b], ſo that each citizen may compare at his leiſure the advantages and inconveniences of them both. Theſe become the topic of converſation in all companies; and thus the public opinion is gradually formed, and openly manifeſts itſelf at the appointed aſſembly. Still, however, nothing can be finally decided. Commiſſioners are named, ſometimes to the number of a thouſand and one, to whom they give the name of legiſlators, and who muſt all have ſat among the heliaſtæ[c]. Theſe form a tribunal, before which appear both the perſon who attacks and thoſe who defend the ancient law. The commiſſioners have the power to abrogate it, without again returning to the people. They next examine whether the new law be adapted to circumſtances, equally beneficial to all the citizens, and conformable to the other laws; theſe preliminaries ſettled, they either confirm it themſelves, or preſent it to the people, who affix to it the ſeal of authority by their ſuffrages. The orator who has occaſioned this alteration is liable to a proſecution, not for having procured the repeal of an obſolete or uſeleſs law, but for introducing another which may eventually prove detrimental.

[b] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 776.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 776 et 777. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 101.

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All new laws muſt be propounded and diſcuſſed in the ſame manner. Yet, notwithſtanding the formalities I have mentioned, notwithſtanding the obligation impoſed on certain magiſtrates to make every year an exact reviſal of the laws, ſo great a number of contradictory and obſcure ones have inſenſibly crept into the code, that the Athenians have lately been under the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a ſpecial commiſſion to make a proper ſelection; but their labour has hitherto been fruitleſs [d].

It is a great advantage that the nature of the democracy has rendered delays and enquiries neceſſary, in matters of legiſlation; but it is often a great misfortune that they are no leſs unavoidable on occaſions that call for celerity and diſpatch. In a monarchy, a ſingle moment ſuffices to promulgate and carry into execution the will of the ſovereign [e]. Here the ſenate muſt be firſt conſulted; the aſſembly of the people be convoked; and they muſt have time to be informed, to deliberate, to decide. The execution of their determinations is ſubject to ſtill more impediments. All theſe obſtacles ſo greatly retard the progreſs of affairs, that the people are ſometimes obliged to refer their deciſion to the ſenate [f]; but it is with regret they ſubmit to make this ſacrifice, dreading the revival of a faction com-

[d] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 433. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554.
[e] Demoſth. de Fal. Leg. p. 321.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 317.

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poſed of the partizans of the ariſtocracy [g], a faction which formerly ſtripped them of their authority. At preſent this party is in a ſtate of depreſſion; but that circumſtance would render them only the more ardent in their exertions to deſtroy a power by which they are kept down and humbled. The people hate them the more, as they make no diſtinction between their power and the tyranny of a ſingle perſon.

Hitherto we have conſidered the ſenate and the people as ſolely occupied with the great object of government: they ſhould be regarded likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, as two courts of juſtice, in which certain offences are proſecuted [h]; and what will appear extraordinary is, that, excepting ſome trifling pecuniary fines which the ſenate are empowered to impoſe [i], other cauſes, after undergoing the judgment of the ſenate, of the people, or of both, one after the other, are, or are liable to be, removed to a tribunal that determines in the laſt reſort [k]. I have known a citizen, accuſed of embezzling the public money, firſt condemned by the ſenate, then by the ſuffrages of the people, which were in ſuſpenſe for a whole day, and finally

[g] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 387 et 427. Theophr. Charact. cap. 26. Caſaub. ibid. Corn. Nep. in Phoc. cap. 3.

[h] Andoc. de Myſt. part 1, p. 2.

[i] Demoſth. in Everg. p. 1058.

[k] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 588. Demoſth. ibid. Liban. Argum. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 601.

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by two tribunals, forming together the number of a thouſand and one judges [l].

It has been thought, with reaſon, that the executive power, diſtinguiſhed from the legiſlative, ſhould never be converted into a vile inſtrument of the latter. But I am compelled to own, that in times of trouble and corruption, ſo wiſe a law has more than once been violated, and that orators have occaſionally induced the people whom they governed to keep back certain cauſes, in order to prevent ſome individuals, whom they had devoted to deſtruction, from obtaining relief in the ordinary courts of juſtice [m] *.

[l] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 774.

[m] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 449. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 369.

* In ſupport of this fact, I have cited Ariſtotle, who, from motives of prudence, does not name the republic of Athens; but it is evident that he alludes to it in this paſſage.

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CHAP. XV.

Of the Magiſtrates of Athens.

IN that violent conflict between paſſions and duties, which muſt infallibly ariſe wherever there are men, and ſtill more where theſe men are free, and think themſelves independent, it is neceſſary that an authority continually armed to repreſs and puniſh licentiouſneſs ſhould with unceaſing vigilance watch over and prevent its progreſs; and as a ſingle authority cannot always immediately act, it alſo becomes neceſſary, by the inſtitution of ſeveral magiſtrates, to render this power at once formidable and omnipreſent.

The people aſſemble on the four laſt days of the year, to nominate to the different offices of the magiſtracy [a]; and though, by the law of Ariſtides [b], they may confer theſe offices on the loweſt of the Athenians, they very rarely grant thoſe which may affect the ſafety of the ſtate to any but the moſt

[a] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 429. Suid. in Ἀρχαί. Liban. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Androt. p. 697.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 37. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 332.

gum.

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diſtinguiſhed citizens [p]. Their will is declared either by the way of ſuffrage, or by lot [q].

The places then diſpoſed of are very numerous. The perſons who are appointed to them muſt undergo an examination before the tribunal of the heliaſtæ [r]; and, as if this probation were inſufficient, the people are aſked, at the firſt monthly aſſembly, or prytany, whether they have any complaints to allege againſt their magiſtrates [s]. On the ſlighteſt accuſation, the chiefs of the aſſembly proceed to put the matter to the vote; and if the queſtion be decided againſt the accuſed magiſtrate, he is removed from office, and brought before a court of juſtice, the determination of which is final [t].

The firſt and moſt important of theſe magiſtracies is that of the archons, compoſed of nine of the principal citizens, inveſted not only with the ſuperintendance of the police, but empowered to receive, in the firſt inſtance, all public informations, and the complaints of oppreſſed citizens.

Their nomination muſt be preceded, or immediately followed, by two examinations, one before

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[p] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 691. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745.

[q] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 832. Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 432. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 1. Potter. Archæolog. lib. 1, cap. 11.

[r] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 429. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, § 44. Harpocr. et Heſych. in Δικαι.

[s] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 87.

[t] Harpocr. et Suid. in Κατηγορια.

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the ſenate, the other before the tribunal of the heliaſtæ [u]. Among other conditions [x], it is requiſite that they ſhould be the children and grand-children of citizens; that they always ſhould have paid a proper veneration to their parents, and have borne arms in the ſervice of the country. They next ſwear to maintain the laws, and to accept no preſents [y]. They take this oath on the originals of the laws themſelves, which are preſerved with a moſt religious veneration. Another motive ſtill more diſpoſes them inviolably to obſerve what they have ſworn. On going out of office, they have hopes, after another examination, to be admitted into the ſenate of the Areopagus [z], the higheſt object of ambition to a virtuous mind.

Their perſons, as well as thoſe of all the magiſtrates, are ſacred. Whoever ſhould inſult them by any act of violence, or improper language, when they have the crown of myrtle [a], the ſymbol of their authority, on their heads, would be excluded from moſt of the privileges of a citizen, or ſentenced to

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[u] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 432. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 86. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 237.

[x] Poll. ibid. § 85 et 86.

[y] Id. ibid. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 92.

[z] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88. Id. in Pericl. p. 157. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 118.

[a] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 86. Heſych. in Μυρρίνη. Meurſ. Lect. Att. lib. 6, cap. 6.

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pay a fine; but they muſt merit likewiſe by their conduct the reſpect annexed to their office.

The three firſt archons have each a particular tribunal, where they ſit accompanied by two aſſeſſors choſen by themſelves [b]. The laſt ſix, called theſmothetæ, form only one and the ſame juriſdiction. Theſe different tribunals take cognizance of different kinds of cauſes [c].

The archons are empowered to draw by lot the judges of the ſuperior courts [d]. They have functions and prerogatives common to them all; and others that are peculiar to a ſingle archon. The firſt archon, for example, called the eponymus, from his name appearing at the head of the acts and decrees paſſed during his year of office, has more eſpecially under his care widows and minors [e]; the ſecond, or king-archon, is to exclude from the myſteries and religious ceremonies all who have been guilty of homicide [f]; and the third, or polemarch, exerciſes a kind of juriſdiction over foreigners ſettled at Athens [g]. All three preſide ſeparately at feſtivals and ſolemn

[b] Æſchin. adv. Tim. p. 284. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 872 et 874. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 92.

[c] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 956; in Pantæn. p. 992.

[d] Poll. ibid. § 87.

[e] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040. Id. in Lacrit. et in Pantæn. ibid.

[f] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 90.

[g] Demoſth. in Zenoth. p. 932. Pollux, ibid.

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games. The laſt ſix regulate the days for the ſitting of the ſuperior courts [h]; go their rounds during the night to maintain order and tranquillity in the city [i], and preſide at the elections of ſeveral ſubordinate magiſtrates [k].

After the election of the archons ſucceeds that of the ſtrategi or generals of armies, of the hipparchi or generals of the cavalry [l], of the officers employed in the collection and cuſtody of the public revenue [m], of the perſons who are to take care that the city is ſupplied with proviſions, of thoſe who ſuperintend the highways, and many others whoſe functions are leſs important.

Sometimes the tribes, aſſembled in virtue of a decree of the people, chooſe inſpectors and treaſurers, to repair ſuch public works as are falling to decay [n].

The magiſtrates of almoſt all theſe departments are reſpectively ten in number; and as it is the nature of the government uniformly to tend towards equality, one of the number is choſen from each tribe.

One of the moſt uſeful eſtabliſhments of this

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[h] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, §. 87.
[i] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 650.
[k] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 429.
[l] Id. ibid.
[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 422. Poll. ib. lib. 8, §. 97. Plut. in Lyc. t. ii. p. 841.
[n] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 432.

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kind is a chamber of accounts, which is annually re-choſen in the general aſſembly of the people, and conſiſts of ten officers[o]. In this chamber the archons, the members of the ſenate, the commanders of the gallies, the ambaſſadors[p], the Areopagites, nay even the miniſters of the altars, in a word, all perſons who have executed any commiſſion under the government, muſt appear, ſome on going out of office, others at ſtated periods; the former to account for the ſums they have received, the latter to juſtify their conduct, and others again merely to prove that they are liable to no cenſure.

Such as refuſe to appear are neither allowed to make a will, to leave the country[q], to fill any office of magiſtracy a ſecond time[r], nor to receive from the public the civic crown decreed to thoſe who have ſerved the ſtate faithfully[s]; they may even be impeached before the ſenate, or other tribunals, which may inflict on them ſtill more diſgraceful marks of infamy[t]. As ſoon as they are out of office, they are liable to a proſecution at the ſuit of any private citizen[u]. If they are charged with

[o] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. 430. Harpocr. et Etymol. in Λογος.
[p] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, § 45.
[q] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 430.
[r] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 796.
[s] Æſchin. ibid. p. 429, &c.
[t] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 617.
[u] Æſchin. ibid. p. 431. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 663.

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peculation, the chamber of accounts takes cognizance of the accuſation; if they are accuſed of any other crimes, the cauſe is inſtantly removed to the ordinary tribunals [z].

[z] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, § 45

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CHAP. XVI.

Of the Athenian Courts of Juſtice.

THE right of protecting innocence is not acquired at Athens either by birth or riches. It is the privilege of every citizen [y]. As all may be preſent at the aſſembly of the nation, and decide on the intereſts of the ſtate, all are likewiſe entitled to give their ſuffrages in the courts of juſtice, and to regulate the intereſts of individuals. The office of judge, therefore, is neither an employment nor a function of magiſtracy; it is a temporary commiſſion, reſpectable for its object, but degraded by the motives that determine the greater part of the Athenians to accept it. The temptation of gain renders them aſſiduous at the tribunals as well as at the general aſſembly. Three oboli * are diſtributed to each at every ſitting [z], which trifling recompence forms an annual expenditure for the

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[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

* About nine ſols (or four-pence halfpenny).

[z] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 329. Id. in Ran. v. 140. Id. in Equit. v. 51 et 255. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 5, § 20.

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ſtate of about one hundred and fifty talents*; for the number of judges is prodigious, and amounts to about ſix thouſand[a].

An Athenian who is more than thirty years of age, who has led an irreproachable life, and who owes nothing to the public treaſury, poſſeſſes the qualification requiſite to diſcharge the judicial functions[b]. The court in which he is to ſit is annually determined by lot[c].

In this manner are the tribunals filled; and of theſe ten principal ones are enumerated, four for homicide, and ſix for other cauſes, as well criminal as civil. Among the former, one takes cognizance of involuntary homicide; a ſecond, of homicide committed in ſelf-defence; a third, of murder, the perpetrator of which, formerly baniſhed his country for this crime, ſhall not have obtained a revocation of the decree previous to his return; a fourth, of homicide occaſioned by the fall of a ſtone, a tree, and other ſuch accidents[d]. We

* 810,000 livres (33,750l.). The following is the calculation of the ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes (in Veſp. v. 661). Two months were dedicated to feſtivals. The tribunals then were open only during 10 months, or 300 days. It coſt each day 18,000 oboli, that is to ſay, 3000 drachmas, or half a talent, and conſequently 15 talents monthly, or 150 per annum. Samuel Petit has controverted this calculation (page 325).

[a] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 660. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 324.

[b] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 122. Pet. ibid. p. 306.

[c] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 832. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 277.

[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 736. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 122.

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ſhall ſee, in the ſucceeding chapter, that the Areopagus took cognizance of premeditated murder.

So many juriſdictions for the ſame crime by no means prove that it is at this time more common in Athens than in other countries, but only that they were inſtituted in ages which knew no other right than force; and in truth they are all of the heroic ages. The origin of the other tribunals is unknown; but they muſt have been formed gradually, in proportion as ſocieties becoming more perfectly civilized, artifice has taken place of violence.

Theſe ten ſovereign courts, compoſed in general of five hundred judges [e], and ſome of a ſtill greater number, poſſeſs no inherent activity, but are ſet in motion by the nine archons. Each of theſe magiſtrates carries thither the cauſes that have fallen within his department, and preſides in this court whilſt they are depending [f].

It being improper for theſe aſſemblies to meet at the ſame time with thoſe of the people, ſince they are both compoſed nearly of the ſame perſons [g], it is the duty of the archons to appoint the time for the meeting of the former; it is their

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[e] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 123.

[f] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 641. Harpocr. in Ἡγεμ. δικαϛ.

[g] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 786.

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buſineſs likewiſe to draw by lot the judges who are to fill theſe different tribunals.

The moſt celebrated is that of the heliaſtæ [h], before which all cauſes of conſequence either to the ſtate or individuals are brought. We have juſt ſaid that it conſiſts in general of five hundred judges; and that, on certain occaſions, the magiſtrates order other tribunals to unite themſelves with that of the heliaſtæ, inſomuch that the number ſometimes is increaſed even to ſix thouſand [i].

Theſe engage by a ſolemn oath to decide according to the laws and the decrees of the ſenate and the people, to receive no preſent, to liſten impartially to both parties, and to oppoſe with their utmoſt power all perſons who ſhall make the leaſt attempt to introduce innovations in the form of government. Dreadful imprecations againſt themſelves and their families ſhould they violate it conclude this oath, which contains ſeveral leſs eſſential particulars [k].

Were I, in this and the ſucceeding chapters, to attempt to follow the Athenian juriſprudence through all its mazes, I ſhould inevitably be-

[h] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 28, p. 69. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἡλ.
[i] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10. § 123. Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 187. Lyſ. in Agorat. p. 244. Andoc. de Myſt. part. 2, p. 3.
[k] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 796.

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wilder myself in an obscure and difficult labyrinth; but I cannot overlook an institution which appears to me highly favourable to those who, though they appeal to the laws, wish not to be litigious. Every year forty inferior judges go the circuit through the different towns of Attica [l], hold their assizes there, decide on certain acts of violence [m], and terminate all processes for small sums, not exceeding ten drachmas *, referring more considerable causes to arbitration [n].

These arbitrators are all persons of good reputation, and about sixty years of age. At the end of every year, they are drawn by lot out of each tribe, to the number of forty-four [o].

Persons who do not choose to expose themselves to the delays of ordinary justice, to deposit a sum of money previous to the judgment, or to pay the fine decreed against the plaintiff failing in his proofs, may confide their interests to one or more arbitrators nominated by themselves, or whom the archon draws by lot in their presence [p]. When the arbitrators are of their own choice, they take an oath to abide by their decision, from which they then cannot appeal; but if they are chosen

[l] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 100.
[m] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992.
* 9 livres (or 7 shillings and six-pence).
[n] Poll. ibid.
[o] Suid. in Hesych. Δικαστ. Ulpian. in Dem. Mid. p. 663.
[p] Herald. Animadvers. lib. 5, cap. 14, p. 570. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 344.

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by lot, they are not deprived of that reſource [q]; and the arbitrators, encloſing the depoſitions of the witneſſes, and all the documents of the proceſs, in a box which they carefully ſeal up, tranſmit them to the archon, whoſe duty it is to lay the cauſe before one of the higher tribunals [r].

If the archon has referred the matter in diſpute to arbitrators drawn by lot, at the requeſt only of one party, their adverſe party has the right either to demur againſt the competence of the tribunal, or to allege other exceptions [s].

Arbitrators called upon to decide in affairs where one of the parties are their friends or relations, might be tempted to pronounce an iniquitous judgment: in ſuch caſes it is provided that the cauſe may be removed into one of the ſovereign courts [t]. They might alſo permit themſelves to be corrupted by preſents, or be influenced by private prejudices: in which caſe the injured party has a right, at the expiration of the year, to proſecute them in a court of juſtice, and compel them to defend, and ſhew the reaſons of their award [u]. The fear of ſuch a ſcrutiny might likewiſe induce them to elude the exerciſe of theſe functions: but the law has provided againſt that, by fixing a ſtigma on every arbitrator

[q] Demoſth. in Aphob. p. 918. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 127.
[r] Herald. Animadv. p. 372.
[s] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 662.
[t] Demoſth. adv. Phorm. p. 943.
[u] Id. in Mid. p. 617. Ulpian. p. 663.

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who, when drawn by lot, refuſes to perform his duty [x].

When I heard, for the firſt time, of an oath, I conſidered it as neceſſary only among rude nations, to whom falſehood might appear perhaps leſs criminal than perjury. Yet have I ſeen the Athenians exact it from magiſtrates, ſenators, judges, orators, witneſſes; from the accuſer who has ſo evident an intereſt to violate it, and from the accuſed who is driven to the dilemma of offending againſt his religion, or fixing guilt on himſelf. But I have obſerved, likewiſe, that this awful ceremony was now no more than a form which is an inſult on the gods, uſeleſs to ſociety, and offenſive to thoſe who are under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to it. The philoſopher Xenocrates, being called upon one day to give his teſtimony, made his depoſition, and advanced towards the altar to confirm it. The judges bluſhed; and unanimouſly oppoſing the adminiſtration of the oath, rendered the higheſt honour to the integrity of ſo reſpectable a witneſs [y]. What idea then muſt they have entertained of the others?

The inhabitants of the iſlands and cities in ſubjection to the republic are obliged to have their

[x] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 126.

[y] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. 1, epiſt. 16, t. viii. p. 69. Id. pro Balb. cap. 5, t. vi. p. 127. Val. Max. lib. 2, extern. cap. 10. Laert. in Xenocr. § 7.

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legal disputes decided in the last resort [z] before the tribunals of Athens. The state derives a benefit from the duties they pay on entering the port, and the sums they expend during their residence in the city. Another motive induces the Athenians to deprive them of the advantage of terminating their differences at home. If they had sovereign jurisdictions, they would only have to look up to their governors for protection, and on numberless occasions might oppress the friends of the democracy; whereas, by being obliged to repair to Athens, they are forced to humble themselves before that people who are their judges in the tribunals, and who are but too well disposed to deal out the justice they solicit according to the measure of affection they are supposed to entertain for their authority.

[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 694. Aristoph. in Avib. v. 1422 et 1455.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVII.

Of the Areopagus.

THE ſenate of the Areopagus, though the moſt ancient, is yet the moſt upright of the Athenian tribunals. It aſſembles ſometimes in the royal portico [a]; but its ordinary place of meeting is on an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the citadel [b], and in a kind of hall defended from the weather only by a ruſtic roof [c].

The number of ſenators is unlimited, and their places held for life [d]. The archons are admitted into this court, after their year of office is expired [e]; but not till they have proved, in a ſolemn examination, that they have diſcharged their duty with equal zeal and fidelity [f]. If, in this examination, any ſhould be found either artful or powerful enough to elude the ſeverity of their cenſors, it is

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[a] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 831.
[b] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 52.
[c] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 118. Vitruv. lib. 2, cap. 1.
[d] Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv. Androt. p. 697.
[e] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Lept. p. 586.
[f] Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. Poll. ibid.

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impoſſible for them, once become Areopagites, to reſiſt the authority of example, and they are forced to appear virtuous [g], as in certain military corps men are under the neceſſity of diſplaying courage.

The reputation this tribunal has enjoyed for ſo many centuries, is founded on titles that will tranſmit its fame to ſucceeding ages [h]. Innocence, ſummoned to appear before it, approaches without apprehenſion; and the guilty, convicted and condemned, retire without daring to murmur [i].

The Areopagus keeps a ſtrict eye over the conduct of its members, and judges them without partiality, ſometimes even for trivial faults. A ſenator was puniſhed for having ſtifled a little bird, which from fear had taken refuge in his boſom [k]. He was thus taught, that he who has a heart ſhut againſt pity ſhould not be allowed to have the lives of the citizens at his mercy. The deciſions of this court therefore are conſidered as ſtandards, not only of wiſdom, but of humanity. I ſaw a woman brought before it, accuſed of procuring the death of ſome perſon by poiſon. She had endeavoured to gain the affections of a man whom ſhe paſſionately loved, by a philter of which he died. She was diſmiſſed without puniſhment, the

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[g] Iſocr. Areopag. t. i. p. 329 et 330.
[h] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Attic. lib. 1, epiſt. 14.
[i] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 735. Lycurg. in Leocrat. part 2, p. 149. Ariſtid. in Panath. t. i. p. 185.
[k] Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1591.

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court deeming her more unfortunate than culpable [l] *.

Certain public bodies, as a recompence for their services, obtain a crown and other marks of honour from the people. That I am speaking of asks none, nor must solicit any [m], nothing distinguishing it so much as that it has no need of distinctions. In the infancy of comedy, all the Athenians were permitted to employ their genius in this new species of literature: the members of the Areopagus were alone excepted [n]; and, indeed, with what propriety could men so grave in their department, so rigid in their manners, pay attention to, or ridicule the follies of society?

The origin of this court is traced back to the time of Cecrops [o], but it is indebted for one more noble to Solon, who invested it with the superintendance of morals [p]. It then took cognizance of almost all crimes, all vices, and abuses. Murder, poisoning, robbery, conflagrations, libertinism, and innovations, either in the system of religion or the form of government, by turns excited its vigilance. It was empowered, by entering and examining private houses, to condemn every use-

[l] Aristot. in Magn. Moral. lib. 1, cap. 17, t. ii. p. 157.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[m] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 430.
[n] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 348.
[o] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 3.
[p] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.

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leſs citizen as dangerous, and every expence not proportioned to the means of the citizen as criminal [q]. As it exhibited the greateſt firmneſs in puniſhing crimes, and the niceſt circumſpection in reforming manners; as it never employed chaſtiſement till advice and menaces were ſlighted [r]; it acquired the eſteem and love of the people, even while it exerciſed the moſt abſolute power.

The education of youth became the firſt object of its cares [s]. It pointed out to the children of citizens the path they ſhould purſue, and aſſigned them guides to conduct them in it. The Areopagus has been often known to ſtimulate by its bounties the emulation of the troops, and to decree rewards to individuals who diſcharged in obſcurity the duties of their ſtation [t]. It exerted ſo much zeal and conſtancy in maintaining the laws during the Perſian war, as greatly to add to the energy of government [u].

This inſtitution, too ſublime to have any long duration, ſubſiſted but about a century. Pericles undertook to enfeeble an authority incompatible with his own [x]. He had the misfortune to ſucceed; and from that moment there was an end to

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[q] Meurſ. Areop. cap. 9.
[r] Iſocr. Areopag. t. i. p. 334.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 332.
[t] Meurſ. Areop. cap. 9.
[u] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 391.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 12. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11, p. 59. Plut. in Pericl. p. 157.

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cenſors in the ſtate, or rather all the citizens aſſumed that office. Accuſations and informations multiplied, and morals received a fatal blow.

Its preſent juriſdiction, properly ſpeaking, is confined to murder, maimings, poiſonings, firing of buildings [y], and ſome other leſs conſiderable offences [z].

When the caſe is murder, the ſecond archon receives the informations, lays them before the Areopagus, takes his place among the judges [a], and pronounces with them the puniſhment preſcribed by laws engraven on a column [b].

When it is a crime that concerns religion or the ſtate, the power of this court is limited to preparing the matter for a trial. Sometimes it takes the informations of its own motion; ſometimes this office is aſſigned to it by the aſſembly of the people [c]. The proceedings ended, it makes its report to the people without coming to any concluſion. The accuſed then has it in his power to offer new pleas in his defence; and the people name orators to conduct the proſecution before one of the ſuperior courts.

Trials in the Areopagus are preceded by tre-

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[y] Lyſ. in Simon. p. 69. Demoſth. adv. Bœot. 2, p. 1012. Id. in Lept. p. 564. Liban. in Orat. adv. Androt. p. 696. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 117.

[z] Lyſ. Orat. Areop. p. 132.

[a] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 90.

[b] Lyſ. in Eratoſt. p. 17.

[c] Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 179, 180, &c.

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mendous ceremonies. The two parties, placed amid the bleeding members of the victims, take an oath, which they confirm by dreadful imprecations againſt themſelves and families [d]. They call to witneſs the inexorable Eumenides, who, from a neighbouring temple, dedicated to their worſhip [e], ſeem to liſten to their invocation, and prepare to puniſh the perjured.

After theſe preliminaries, they proceed to the trial; in which truth alone is entitled to preſent herſelf to the judges, who dread eloquence not leſs than falſehood. The advocates muſt ſcrupulouſly baniſh from their harangues all exordia, perorations, digreſſions, and every ornament of ſtyle, nay even the language of ſentiment; that language which ſo violently inflames the imagination, and has ſo great a power over commiſerating minds [f]. Paſſion would paint itſelf in vain in the eyes and geſtures of the orator, ſince the Areopagus generally holds its aſſemblies in the night.

The queſtion having been ſufficiently diſcuſſed, the judges depoſit in ſilence their ſuffrages in two urns, one of which is called the urn of death, the other the urn of mercy [g]. When the numbers are

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[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 736. Dinarch. adv. Dem. p. 178.
[e] Meurſ. in Areop. cap. 2.
[f] Lyſ. adv. Simon. p. 88. Lycurg. in Leocr. part 2, p. 149. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 512. Lucian. in Anach. t. ii. p. 899. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 117.
[g] Meurſ. Areop. cap. 8.

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equal, an inferior officer adds, in favour of the accuſed, the ſuffrage of Minerva [h]; ſo called, becauſe, according to an ancient tradition, this goddeſs, being preſent in the court of Areopagus at the trial of Oreſtes, gave her caſting vote to turn the ſcale of juſtice.

On important occaſions, when the people, inflamed by their orators, are on the point of adopting ſome meaſure injurious to the welfare of the ſtate, the Areopagites have ſometimes preſented themſelves to the aſſembly, and by arguments or entreaties prevailed on them to liſten to reaſon [i]. The people, who have nothing to fear from their authority, but who reſpect their wiſdom, ſometimes permit them to reviſe their deciſions. The facts I am about to mention happened in my time.

A citizen who had been baniſhed from Athens had the temerity to return. He was accuſed before the people, who thought proper to acquit him, at the inſtigation of a favourite orator. The Areopagus taking cognizance of the affair, ordered the criminal to be ſeized, recommenced the proſecution, and prevailed on the people to condemn him [k].

Deputies were to be ſent to the council of the Amphictyons, and amongſt thoſe whom the people

[h] Ariſtid. Orat. in Min. t. i. p. 24.
[i] Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.
[k] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 495.

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had made choice of was the orator Æſchines, whoſe conduct was not entirely exempt from ſuſpicion. The Areopagus, on whoſe ſtern virtue talents without probity make no impreſſion, inſtituted an enquiry into the conduct of Æſchines, and pronounced that the orator Hyperides appeared to them more worthy of ſo honourable a commiſſion. The people immediately appointed Hyperides[1].

It is a pleaſing reflection that the Areopagus, ſtripped as it is of almoſt all its functions, has neither forfeited its reputation, nor departed from its integrity, but even in its decline continues to command the public reſpect. I ſhall mention another example that paſſed under my eyes.

The Areopagus had repaired to the general aſſembly, to give its opinion reſpecting the project of a citizen named Timarchus, who was ſoon after proſcribed for the depravity of his manners. Autolycus addreſſed them in the name of the whole court. This ſenator, educated in the ſimplicity of ancient times, and a ſtranger to the ſhameful abuſe to which the moſt ordinary terms of converſation are now perverted, ſuffered a word to drop from him, which, miſconſtrued from its real ſenſe, admitted of an alluſion to the licentious life of Timarchus. The whole aſſembly applauded him

[1] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 495.

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in a tranſport, and Autolycus, aſtoniſhed, aſſumed a ſeverer countenance. After a moment's pauſe, he attempted to proceed; but the people putting an arch conſtruction on the moſt innocent expreſſions, never ceaſed to interrupt him by a confuſed noiſe and immoderate burſts of laughter. A diſtinguiſhed citizen now riſing, exclaimed: Are you not aſhamed, Athenians, to be guilty of ſuch indecency in preſence of the Areopagites? The people anſwered, that they felt all the veneration due to the majeſty of that tribunal; but that there were circumſtances in which it was impoſſible to reſtrain themſelves within the bounds of decorum[m]. What virtues muſt not this body have poſſeſſed to have eſtabliſhed and maintained ſo high an opinion of the reſpect due to it in the minds of the people; and what good might it not have produced, had they known how to value it as it deſerved?

[m] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 272.

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CHAP. XVIII.

Of Accuſations and Legal Procedures among the Athenians.

THE cauſes brought before the courts of juſtice concern either offences againſt the government, or againſt individuals. In the former caſe every citizen may indiſcriminately ſtep forward as a proſecutor; in the latter, the injured perſon alone poſſeſſes that right. The puniſhment for crimes againſt the ſtate is often capital; but for offences againſt individuals, it is confined to damages and pecuniary ſatisfaction.

In a democracy, more than in any other government, the injury done to the ſtate becomes perſonal to every citizen, and violence towards an individual is a crime againſt the ſtate [t]. At Athens it is not thought ſufficient that public proſecutions may be commenced againſt thoſe who betray their country, or are guilty of impiety, ſacrilege, or firing the city [u]: ſuch a proſecution lies alſo againſt the general who has not performed

[t] Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 610.
[u] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, § 40, &c.

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every thing which he ought to have done or might have done; againſt the ſoldier who abſents himſelf from the enrolment, or deſerts from the army; againſt the ambaſſador, the magiſtrate, the judge, or the orator, who have been guilty of miſconduct; againſt the individual who has aſſumed the privileges of a citizen, without the neceſſary qualifications, or who has taken on himſelf any office from which he is excluded; againſt the man who corrupts his judges, debauches youth, remains in celibacy, or attacks the life or honour of a citizen; in fine, againſt all who are guilty of offences which evidently tend to diſturb the government, or endanger the ſafety of the citizens.

Litigations on the ſubject of a diſputed inheritance, a breach of truſt, an uncertain debt, damage received in property, and a variety of other caſes which do not immediately concern the ſtate, afford matter of trial between the parties [x].

The proceedings vary in ſome points, as well from the difference of the courts in which they are inſtituted as from that of the offences. I ſhall confine myſelf to the eſſential formalities.

Public actions are ſometimes commenced before the ſenate, or before the people [y], who, after

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[x] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 3. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Attic. lib. 3.

[y] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 603; in Everg. p. 1058. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, § 51. Harpocr. in Εἰσαγ.

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a firſt deciſion, refer them to one of the ſuperior courts[a]; but, in general, the accuſer addreſſes himſelf to one of the chief magiſtrates[a], who puts ſeveral interrogatories to him, and aſks him whether he has reflected well on the ſtep he is about to take, if he is prepared, if it would not be to his advantage to have further proofs, if he has witneſſes, if he wiſhes to be provided with any. He apprizes him at the ſame time that he muſt take an oath to go on with the proſecution, and that a kind of infamy is annexed to the violation of that oath. He then appoints the trial, and makes the accuſer appear a ſecond time in his preſence, when he repeats the ſame queſtions; and if he ſtill perſiſts, his declaration remains fixed up in ſome public place till the judges are ready to hear the cauſe[b].

The accuſed then puts in his plea, grounded either on a former deciſion, long preſcription, or the incompetence of the court[c]. He may put off the trial, bring an action againſt his adverſary, and defer for ſome time the judgment which he fears.

After theſe preliminaries, which are not practi-

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[a] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 637. Herald. Animadv. p. 233.

[a] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 314.

[b] Demoſth. in Theocrin. p. 850. Id. in Mid. p. 619 et 620. Ulp. in Orat. adv. Mid. p. 641, 662, et 668. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 318.

[c] Demoſth. adv. Pantæn. p. 992. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 662. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, § 57. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 4.

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cable in all cases, the parties swear to speak the truth, and personally begin to discuss the cause. They are allowed a limited time to explain themselves, measured by drops of water falling from a vessel [d]. In general they do but repeat what more eloquent tongues have dictated to them in private. After they have done speaking, they may solicit the assistance of orators who possess their confidence, or interest themselves in their fate [e].

In the course of the trial, the witnesses give their testimony aloud. For in criminal, as well as in civil cases, it is a rule that all proceedings should be public. The accuser may require the slaves of the adverse party to be put to the torture [f]. It is scarcely possible to conceive that a barbarity so dreadful could have been exercised on men whose fidelity ought not to be tempted, if they are attached to their masters; and whose testimony cannot but be suspicious if they are discontented with them. Sometimes one of the parties, of his own free will, presents his slaves to this inhuman proof [g], persuaded that he has the right, as he unfortunately has the power, to commit this cruel act. Sometimes he refuses the requisition made him for this

[d] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 172. Aristoph. Acharn. v. 693. Schol. ibid. Demosth. et Æschin. passim. Lucian. Piscat. cap. 28, t. i. p. 597.

[e] Demosth. in Neær. p. 863. Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 424. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 461.

[f] Demosth. in Neær. p. 880; in Onet. 1, p. 924; in Pantæn. p. 993.

[g] Id. in Aphob. 3, p. 913; in Nicostr. p. 1107.

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purpose [h], either from the dread of a deposition extorted by the violence of the tortures, or that his heart listens to the remonstrances of humanity; but his refusal in this case gives room for the strongest suspicions, whilst nothing inspires a more favourable prejudice in behalf of the parties or witnesses, than when they offer, as a corroboration of what they affirm, to take an oath upon the head of their children, or of their parents [i].

We shall only cursorily observe, that the torture cannot be inflicted on a citizen but in extraordinary cases.

Previous to pronouncing the judgment, the magistrate who presides at the tribunal distributes to each of the judges a white ball to acquit, and a black one to condemn, the party accused [k]. An officer apprizes them that the question is simply confined to the decision of guilty, or not guilty, and they proceed to deposit their suffrages in a box. If there be a majority of black balls, the president of the court traces out a long line on a tablet covered with wax, exposed to every eye; if the white are most numerous, a shorter line [l]; and if the votes be equal, the accused is acquitted [m].

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[h] Demosth. in Steph. 1, p. 977. Isocr. in Trapezit. t. ii. p. 477.

[i] Demosth. in Aphob. 3, p. 913 et 917.

[k] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 123. Meurs. Areop. cap. 8.

[l] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 106. Schol. ibid.

[m] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 469. Aristot. Problem. sect. 29, t. ii. p. 812. Id. de Rhetor. cap. 19, t. ii. p. 628.

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In cases where the punishment is specified by law, this first judgment is sufficient; but when that is only expressed in the declaration of the prosecutor, the offender has a right to demand a mitigation; and this second question is decided by a new trial, to which they instantly proceed [n].

He who, having commenced a prosecution, either drops it, or fails in obtaining the fifth part of the suffrages [o], is generally sentenced to a penalty of one thousand drachmas [*]. But as nothing is so easy nor so dangerous as invidious accusations on the subject of religion, the punishment of death is decreed, in certain cases, against the man who shall accuse another of impiety without being able to convict him [p].

Private causes are, in many points, conducted in the same mode with public prosecutions, and are, for the most part, brought in the first instance before the tribunals of the archons, who sometimes pronounce a sentence subject to an appeal [q], and sometimes content themselves with taking the

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[n] Ulpian. in Demosth. adv. Timarch. p. 822. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 335.

[o] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 36. Demosth. de Cor. p. 517; in Mid. p. 610; in Androt. p. 702; in Aristocr. p. 738; in Timocr. p. 774; in Theocrin. p. 850.

[*] 900 livres (or 37 l. 10 s). This sum was very considerable when the law was first made.

[p] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 6, § 41.

[q] Demosth. in Onet. 1, p. 920. Id. in Olymp. p. 1068. Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

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neceſſary informations, which they lay before the ſuperior courts [r].

There are cauſes which may be proſecuted civilly by a private accuſation, and criminally by a public action. Such is the nature of an inſult committed on the perſon of a citizen [s]. The laws, whoſe intention it is to provide for his ſafety, authorize all his fellow citizens publicly to proſecute the aggreſſor; but the choice of his vengeance is left to the offended, who may ſue for a ſum of money if he brings a civil action, and even puniſh the offender with death, if he lays a criminal indictment. The orators frequently abuſe theſe laws, by changing, by inſidious artifices, thoſe ſuits into criminal, which in their origin were merely civil.

Nor is this the only danger the parties have to apprehend. I have ſeen judges, inattentive during the reading of the documents, loſe ſight of the queſtion, and give their ſuffrages at a venture [t]; I have ſeen men, powerful from their wealth, publicly inſult the poorer people, who durſt not demand reparation for the offence [u]; I have ſeen them eternize, in ſome ſort, a law-ſuit, by obtaining ſucceſſive delays, and prevent the tribunals from determining on their crimes, till the public

[r] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſt. adv. Mid. p. 641.
[s] Herald. Animadv. in Jus Att. lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 128.
[t] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 459.
[u] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606.

indignation

indignation had ſubſided [x]; I have ſeen them appear in court, eſcorted by a numerous retinue of corrupt witneſſes, and even of honeſt men; who, from weakneſs, ſubmitted to increaſe the train of their attendants, and lend them the ſanction of their preſence [y]: I have ſeen them, in a word, arm the ſuperior tribunals againſt ſubordinate judges who had refuſed to aid them in their unjuſt proceedings [z].

Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, there are ſo many modes of getting rid of a rival, or of taking vengeance of an enemy; ſo many public accuſations are combined with private litigations, that it may be confidently aſſerted, that more cauſes are brought before the tribunals of Athens than before thoſe of all Greece [a]. This abuſe is inevitable in a ſtate, which, in order to reſtore its exhauſted finances, has frequently no other reſource but that of facilitating public accuſations, and of profiting by the confiſcations ariſing from them: it is inevitable in a ſtate in which the citizens, obliged mutually to watch each other, perpetually ſtruggling for honours, contending for employments, and having accounts to ſettle with the government, neceſſarily aſſume the character of ſpies and cenſors. A multitude of informers, always

[x] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 616 et 621.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 625.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 617.
[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 699.

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odious, but always formidable, inflame these inteſtine diſſenſions; diſſeminate ſuſpicions and diffidence through ſociety; and audaciouſly ſeize on the remains of the fortunes they have ruined. They have indeed againſt them the ſeverity of the laws, and the contempt of virtuous men; but in their favour they have the pretext of public good, ſo often made an inſtrument in the hands of ambition and private enmity; and they have alſo, what is of ſtill more avail to obtain their ends, their effrontery and their inſolence.

The Athenians are leſs terrified than foreigners at the vices of an abſolute democracy. The extreme of liberty appears to them ſo great a bleſſing, that to preſerve it they ſacrifice even their tranquillity. Beſides, if public accuſations be a ſubject of terror to ſome, they contribute to the pleaſure and entertainment of the reſt of the people, as they have almoſt all a decided taſte for the chicane and artifices of the bar, to which they give themſelves up with that ardour which eſpecially characterizes them in all their purſuits [b]. Their activity derives new life from eternal and ſubtle diſcuſſions of their intereſts; and it is poſſibly to this, more than to any other cauſe, that we are to attribute that ſuperior penetration, and that turbulent eloquence, which diſtinguiſh the Athenians from every other people on earth.

[b] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 504. Id. in Equit. v. 1314. Schol. ibid.

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CHAP. XIX.

Of Crimes and Punishments.

SOME penal laws are engraven on columns placed near the tribunals [a]. If such monuments could be so multiplied as to exhibit an exact scale of all offences, and the corresponding punishments, we should see more equity in judgments, and fewer crimes would be committed against society. But no attempt has any where been made to appreciate each particular transgression; yet is it matter of universal complaint that there is no uniform standard for the punishment of the guilty. The jurisprudence of Athens supplies, in many cases, the silence of the laws. We have already said, that when these do not specify the penalty, a previous trial is necessary to declare the culprit convicted of the crime, and a second to determine the chastisement he merits [a]. In the interval between these decisions, the judges demand of the

[a] Lysi. pro Cæd. Eratosth. p. 17. Andoc. de Myster. p. 12.
[a] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 460. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Attic. p. 192, § 3. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 335.

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offender to what punishment he would condemn himself. He is allowed to make choice of that which is the mildest and least injurious to his interest, though the accuser may have called for the severest and that most conformable to his hatred: the orators discuss both; and the judges, acting in some measure as arbitrators, endeavour to conciliate the parties, and establish as just a proportion as possible between the offence and the punishment[e].

All the Athenians are liable to suffer the same punishments; all may be deprived of life, of liberty, of their country, of their property, and privileges. Let us take a cursory view of these different articles.

The laws of Athens punish with death, sacrilege[f]; profanation of the mysteries[g]; enterprizes against the state, and especially against the democracy[h]; deserters[i]; those who give up to the enemy a strong hold, a galley, or a detachment of troops[k]; all crimes, in short, that directly attack religion, government, or the life of an individual.

The same punishment is inflicted for robbery

[e] Ulpian. in Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 822.
[f] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1, p. 450. Id. Memorab. lib. 1, p. 721. Diod. lib. 16, p. 427. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5, cap. 16.
[g] Andocid. de Myst. part. 1, p. 1. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 33.
[h] Xenoph. ut suprà. Andocid. de Myst. p. 13. Plut. in Publ. t. i. p. 110.
[i] Suid. et Hesych. in Ἄτιμοι. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 563.
[k] Lys. contr. Philon. p. 498.

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committed in the day, when exceeding the value of fifty drachmas *; or robbery by night of the ſmalleſt ſum; for theft committed in the baths, and in the gymnaſia, no matter how trifling the loſs [l].

Criminals are generally deprived of life by the rope, the ſword, or poiſon [m]; ſometimes they are made to expire under the baſtinado [n]; ſometimes they are thrown into the ſea [o], or into a pit full of ſharp ſpikes, to haſten their death [p]; for it is conſidered as a ſpecies of impiety to ſuffer even criminals to die with hunger [q].

The citizen accuſed of certain crimes is detained in priſon until he is tried [r], if condemned to die, until his execution [s]; the man who owes money till he has paid his debt [t]. Some crimes are expiated by an impriſonment of ſeveral years, or a few days [u]; others only by perpetual confine-

* Upwards of 45 livres (or 1l. 17s. 6d.).

[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 721. Demoſth. in Tim. p. 791. Iſocr. in Lochit. t. ii. p. 550. Ariſtot. Probl. ſect. 29, t. ii. p. 814. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 528. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Att. lib. 4, cap. 8.

[m] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 364. Pott. Archæolog. Græc. lib. 1, cap. 25.

[n] Lyſ. in Agorat. p. 253 et 257.

[o] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1360.

[p] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 431. Id. in Equit. v. 1359. Schol. ibid. Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 181.

[q] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 786. Schol. ibid.

[r] Andoc. de Myſt. part. 2, p. 7 et 12.

[s] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58.

[t] Andocid. de Myſt. part. 1. p. 12. Demoſth. in Apat. p. 938. Id. in Ariſtogit. p. 837.

[u] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 789, 791, & 792.

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ment [x]. In certain cases persons accused may avoid the prison by giving bail [y]; in others, the criminals confined there are loaded with chains, so that they are unable to move [z].

Banishment is a punishment the more rigorous to an Athenian, as he can no where find the same enjoyments as in his own country, and the resources of friendship cannot alleviate his misfortune. A citizen who should grant him an asylum, would be subject to the same punishment [a].

This proscription takes place under two remarkable circumstances: 1st, A man acquitted of an involuntary murder must absent himself for a whole year, nor return to Athens till he has given satisfaction to the relations of the deceased, and purified himself by sacred ceremonies [b]. 2dly, He who, accused before the Areopagus of a premeditated murder, despairs of his cause, after a first hearing, may, before the judges proceed to give their votes, condemn himself to exile, and withdraw unmolested [c]. His property is confiscated, but his person is in safety, provided he does not appear either in the territory of the republic, or at any of the solemn festivals of Greece; for, in

[x] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37.
[y] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 795.
[z] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37. Demosth. in Timocr. p. 789. Ulpian. ibid. p. 818.
[a] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1091.
[b] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 512.
[c] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 736. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 99.

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that caſe, every Athenian is allowed to drag him to juſtice, or put him to death. This is founded on the principle that a murderer ought not to breathe the ſame air, or enjoy the ſame advantages, which were enjoyed by the perſon whom he has deprived of life [d].

Confiſcations are in a great meaſure applied to the public treaſury, into which all fines are paid, after deducting a tenth part for the worſhip of Minerva, and a fiftieth for that of ſome other deities [e].

Degradation deprives a man of all or part of the rights of a citizen; a penalty ſtrictly conformable to the general order of things, for it is but juſt to compel him to renounce privileges he has abuſed. This is the puniſhment moſt eaſily proportioned to the offence, for it is ſuſceptible of gradations according to the nature and number of theſe privileges [f]. Sometimes it prohibits the offender from aſcending the roſtrum, from attending at the general aſſembly, of from taking his ſeat among the ſenators or judges; ſometimes it interdicts him from entering the temples, and all participation in the ſacred rites; in ſome caſes he is forbidden to appear in the forum, or to travel in certain coun-

[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 729 et 730. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Attic. p. 300.

[e] Demoſth. adv. Timocr. p. 791. Id. adv. Theocr. p. 852. Id. adv. Ariſtog. p. 831. Id. adv. Neær. p. 861.

[f] Andocid. de Myſter. part. 2, p. 10.

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tries; in others, by depriving him of every thing, he is left with only the burden of a life deſtitute of enjoyment, and a liberty which he cannot exerciſe[g]. This is a very heavy and highly ſalutary puniſhment in a democracy, inaſmuch as the privileges forfeited by this degradation being there deemed of more importance, and held in higher eſtimation, than in other governments, nothing is ſo mortifying to a citizen as to find himſelf reduced below his equals. An individual in this predicament is as it were a dethroned citizen, left among ſociety as an example to others.

This interdiction is not always attended with opprobrium. An Athenian who has introduced himſelf into the cavalry, without undergoing a previous examination, is puniſhed, becauſe he has infringed the laws[h]; but he is not diſhonoured, becauſe he has not offended againſt good morals. From a neceſſary conſequence this ſpecies of ſtigma diſappears, when the cauſe which gave riſe to it ceaſes to exiſt. He who ſtands indebted to the public treaſury, forfeits the rights of citizenſhip; but he is reinſtated in thoſe rights the moment he has ſatisfied the claims of the ſtate[i]. By the ſame

[g] Andocid. de Myſter. part. 2, p. 10. Demoſth. orat. 2, in Ariſtog. p. 832, 834, 836, et 845. Æſch. in Ctefiph. Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 125. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 662 et 665.

[h] Lyſ. in Alcib. p. 177. Tayl. Lection. Lyſiac. p. 717.

[i] Demoſth. in Theocrin. p. 857. Liban. in Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv. Ariſtog. p. 843.

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train of reaſoning, the republic does not bluſh to call to her aſſiſtance, in the hour of imminent danger, all the citizens who have been ſuſpended from their functions [k]. But it is a neceſſary ſtep previouſly to revoke the decree that had condemned them; and this revocation can only be effected by a tribunal compoſed of ſix thouſand judges, and muſt be ſubject to conditions impoſed by the ſenate and the people [l].

Irregularity of conduct and depravity of manners produce another kind of ignominy which the laws have it not in their power to efface; but by uniting their authority with that of the public opinion, they take from the citizen who has loſt the eſteem of others, the reſources he found in his rank in life. Thus, by excluding from public offices and employments the man who has ill-treated his parents [m], the ſoldier who has cowardly abandoned his ſtation, or his buckler [n], they publicly brand him with a mark of infamy that neceſſarily compels remorſe.

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[k] Andocid. de Myſt. p. 14. Demoſth. adv. Ariſtog. p. 846.
[l] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 780.
[m] Laert. in Solon. lib. 1, § 55.
[n] Andocid. de Myſt. p. 10.

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CHAP. XX.

Manners and Civil Life of the Athenians.

AT the crowing of the cock, the inhabitants of the country enter the city with their provisions, singing ancient ballads [o]. At the same hour the shops open with no little noise, and all the Athenians are in motion [p]. Some resume the labours of their profession; others disperse themselves, in considerable numbers, among the different tribunals, to exercise the functions of judges.

Among the people, as well as in the army, it is customary to make two meals a day [q]; but persons of a certain rank content themselves with one [r], which some eat at noon [s]; but the greater number a little before the setting of the sun [t]. In the afternoon they take a few moments sleep [u],

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[o] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 278.
[p] Id. in Avib. v. 490. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. No. 161.
[q] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 63. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5, p. 573. Demosth. in Everg. p. 1060. Theophr. Charact. cap. 3.
[r] Plat. Epist. 7, t. iii. p. 326. Anthol. lib. 2, p. 185.
[s] Athen. lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 11.
[t] Id. ibid. Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 648. Schol. ibid.
[u] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3, p. 75.

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or play with little pieces of bone, or at dice, and other games of commerce [x].

In the first of these games they make use of four small pieces of bone, having one of these four numbers; 1, 3, 4, and 6, [y] on each of their sides. From their different combinations result 35 throws, to which they have given the names of gods, princes, heroes, &c [z]. Some are losing, and others winning throws. The most favourable of all is that they call Venus, which is when the four bones turn up the four different numbers [a].

In the game of dice, they likewise distinguish lucky and unlucky throws [b]; but frequently without attending to this distinction, it is only necessary to cast a higher number than the adversary [c]. The pair-royal of six is the most fortunate throw [d]. Only three dice are employed at this game. They shake them in a dice box, and, to prevent cheating, throw them into a hollow cylinder, through which they pass, and roll upon the chequer-board [e *].

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[x] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 63. Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 532.
[y] Lucian. de Amor. t. ii. p. 415. Poll. lib. 9, cap. 7, § 100.
[z] Eust. ad Iliad. τ. p. 1289. Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Ἀστράγ.
[a] Lucian. ibid. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, cap. 13; lib. 2, cap. 21, t. iii. p. 12 et 64.
[b] Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Κύβ.
[c] Poll. lib. 9, cap. 7, § 117.
[d] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 33. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in Τρὶς ἓξ. Not. ibid.
[e] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 269. Poll. lib. 7, cap. 33, § 208. Id. lib. 10, cap. 31, § 150. Harpocr. in Διαγρ. et in Φιμ. Vales. ibid. Suid. in Διαγρ. Salmas. in Vopisc. p. 469.

* See note at the end of the volume.

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Sometimes, instead of three dice, they make use of three of the little bones above mentioned.

The preceding games are games of pure chance, but the following entirely depends on judgment. On a table on which are traced lines or pyramidal points [f], they range on each side pieces, or men, of different colours [g]. The skill of this game consists in sustaining one piece by the other, in taking those of the adversary, when he leaves them unguarded; or in blocking him up, so as to prevent him from advancing [h]: but he is permitted to play again when he has made a wrong move [i] *.

Sometimes the latter game is played with dice, the player regulating the moves of his men or pieces by the number he throws. In this case it is his business to know what throws will prove fatal or advantageous to him, and to profit by the favours of fortune, or by judgment correct her caprices [k]. This, as well as the preceding game, requires a number of combinations, and to excel at it, should be practised from early youth [l]. Some

[f] Sophocl. ap. Poll. lib. 9, cap. 7, § 97.
[g] Poll. ibid. § 98.
[h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 487.
[i] Id. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 229. Hesych. et Suid. in Ἀναβ.

* It is presumed that this game bore some resemblance to the game of draughts, or chess; and the following, to that of backgammon. The reader may consult Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Πεττ. Buleng. de Lud. Veter. Hyde, Hist. Nerd. Salmas. in Vopisc. p. 459.

[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 604. Plut. in Pyrr. t. i. p. 400.
[l] Plat. de Rep. lib. ii. p. 374.

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perſons acquire ſuch a degree of ſkill, that their names become celebrated, and that no perſon will venture to play againſt them [m].

At different times of the day, and eſpecially in the morning, before noon, and in the evening, before ſupper, the company repair to the banks of the Iliſſus and the environs of the city, to enjoy the extreme pureneſs of the air, and the delightful proſpects that preſent themſelves on every ſide [n]; but the uſual place of meeting is the forum, the moſt frequented part of the whole city [o]. As it is there that the general aſſembly is often held, and the palace of the ſenate, and the tribunal of the chief archon are ſituated, almoſt every one is attracted thither by his own private buſineſs, or the affairs of the ſtate [p]. Many perſons reſort thither for amuſement, and others in ſearch of employment. At certain hours, the ſquare, cleared from all the incumbrances of the market, leaves an open field for thoſe who wiſh to entertain themſelves with obſervations on the crowd, or make a diſplay of their own perſons.

Around the ſquare are the ſhops of perfumers *,

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[m] Athen. lib. 1, cap. 14, p. 16.
[n] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 227 et 229.
[o] Meurſ. in Ceram. cap. 16.
[p] Demoſth. in Ariſtogit. p. 836.
* Inſtead of ſaying, *Let us go to the perfumers*, they ſaid, *Let us go to the perfume*; as we ſay in France, *Let us go to the coffee*, and not *coffee-houſe*. *(Allons au caffé.)* Poll. lib. 10, cap. 2, § 19. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1372. Spanh. et Kuſter. ibid.

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goldſmiths, barbers, &c. open to every perſon [q], in which the intereſts of the ſtate, anecdotes of private families, and the vices or ridiculous conduct of individuals, are warmly and clamorouſly diſcuſſed. From amidſt theſe groups, which by a confuſed motion are perpetually ſeparating and re-uniting, iſſue a thouſand ingenious or ſatyrical pleaſantries againſt thoſe who mix with the company in a ſlovenly habit [r], or preſume to diſplay an offenſive oſtentation [s]; for this people, paſſionately addicted to raillery, are expert at a kind of facetiouſneſs the more formidable, as their malignity is dexterouſly concealed under it [t]. Sometimes we meet with a ſelect company, and inſtructive converſation, in the different porticos diſperſed through the city [u]. Such little parties cannot but be numerous among the Athenians. Their inſatiable thirſt for news, ariſing from the natural activity of their minds, and the idleneſs of their lives, forces them to ſeek the ſociety of each other.

This taſte, which is ſo predominant as to draw on them the name of Loiterers or Loungers [x],

[q] Ariſtoph. in Equit. Lyſ. adv. Delat. p. 413. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606. Id. in Phorm. p. 942. Theophr. Charact. cap. 11. Caſaub. et Duport. ibid. Terent. in Phorm. act. 1, ſcen. 2, v. 39.
[r] Theophr. Charact. cap. 19.
[s] Id. cap. 21.
[t] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 897.
[u] Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.
[x] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1260.

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in time of war becomes a kind of madneſs. Then it is that in public, and in private, their converſations turn on military expeditions, and that their firſt queſtion on meeting is, What news? Then are ſeen on every ſide thoſe ſwarms of newſ-mongers, tracing out upon the ground, or on a wall, the map of the country in which the army then is [z], loudly proclaiming its ſucceſſes, and whiſpering its defeats [a]; collecting and exaggerating rumours which either throw the city into the moſt immoderate joy, or plunge it into the very depth of deſpair [b].

The Athenians employ their hours of peace in amuſements of a more pleaſing nature. As the greater part of them cultivate their own eſtates, they mount their horſes in the morning, and, after directing the labours of their ſlaves, return in the evening to the city [c].

Their time is ſometimes filled up by hunting [d], and the exerciſes of the gymnaſium [e]. Beſides the public baths, whither the people flock in crowds, and which ſerve the poor as an aſylum againſt the

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[z] Demoſth. Philipp. 1, p. 49.
[a] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 199; in Nic. p. 531.
[a] Theophr. Charact. cap. 8.
[b] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 542. Id. in Garrul. t. ii. p. 509.
[c] Xenoph. Œconom. p. 831.
[d] Id. ibid. Plat. de Rep. lib. 2, p. 373. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1082.
[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 452.

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inclemencies of winter[f], private perſons have baths in their houſes[g], and the uſe of them has become ſo indiſpenſable, that they are introduced even on board their veſſels[h]. They frequently take a bathe after their walk, and almoſt always previous to a repaſt[i]. They come out of the bath perfumed with eſſences; and theſe odours mingle with thoſe they carefully ſprinkle over their garments, which are diſtinguiſhed by different names, according to the difference of their form and colours[k].

In general they are contented with throwing over a tunick that deſcends to the midleg[l], a mantle which almoſt entirely covers them. None but the country people, or perſons without education, tuck up the different parts of their dreſs above the knee[m].

Many perſons go barefooted[n]; others, whether in the city, or on a journey, nay ſometimes even at proceſſions[o], cover their heads with a large flapped hat.

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[f] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 535. Schol. ibid.
[g] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 116. Demoſth. in Conon. p. 1110. Theophr. cap. 28.
[h] Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Nub. v. 987.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Poll. lib. 7, cap. 13. Winkel. Hiſt. de l'Art, liv. 4, chap. 5.
[l] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 61.
[m] Theophr. Charact. cap. 4. Caſaub. ib. Athen. lib. 1, cap. 18, p. 21.
[n] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 229. Athen. lib. 13, cap. 5, p. 583.
[o] Drawings of Nointel, preſerved in the king's library at Paris.

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In the form and diſpoſition of the ſeveral parts of dreſs, the men are expected to ſtudy decency, the women to unite elegance with taſte. The latter wear, 1ſt, a white tunic, which is faſtened with buttons over the ſhoulders, cloſely bound under the boſom with a broad ſaſh [p], and deſcends in waving folds down to the heels [q]: 2dly, a ſhorter robe, confined round the waiſt by a broad ribbon [r], and, like the tunic, bordered at the bottom by ſtripes or edgings of different colours [s]; ſometimes it has ſleeves covering only part of the arm: 3dly, a robe, which is ſometimes worn gathered up like a ſcarf, and at others ſuffered to unfold itſelf over the body, the contours and proportions of which it is peculiarly well adapted to diſplay; for this they often ſubſtitute a light mantlet [t]. When they go out they wear a veil over their heads.

Flax [u], cotton [x], and, above all, wool, are the materials of which the garments of the Athenians are moſt uſually made. The tunic was formerly of linen [y]; it is now of cotton. The common people wear a cloth which has not been dyed, and

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[p] Achill. Tat. de Clitoph. et Leucip. Amor. lib. 1, cap. 3.
[q] Poll. lib. 7, cap. 16.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 14, § 65.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 13, § 52; cap. 14, § 6.
[t] Winkelm. Hiſt. de l'Art, liv. 4, chap. 5, p. 185.
[u] Poll. lib. 7, cap. 16.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 17. Pauſan. lib. 5, p. 384; lib. 7, p. 578. Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 120.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 6.

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which will waſh [a]. The rich uſually prefer cloths of various colours. They particularly eſteem thoſe dyed in ſcarlet, by means of little ſeeds of a reddiſh colour gathered from a certain ſhrub [a]; but they ſet a ſtill higher value on purple [b], and eſpecially on the cloths of a very deep red with a mixture of the violet [c].

Very light dreſſes are made for ſummer [d]. In winter ſome wear large robes imported from Sardes, the cloth of which, manufactured at Ecbatana in Media, is covered with thick flocks of wool, intended to defend the wearer from the cold [e].

We likewiſe ſee ſtuffs embroidered with gold [f]; and others worked with the moſt beautiful flowers in their natural colours [g]; but theſe are employed only in the veſtments with which they cover the ſtatues of the gods [h], or for the dreſs of the actors at the theatre [i]. To prevent modeſt women from wearing them, the laws direct that they ſhall be worn by females of looſe reputation [k].

The Athenian women paint their eye-brows

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[a] Ferrar. de Re Veſt. lib. 4, cap. 13.
[a] Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 105.
[b] Plut. in Alcibiad. t. i. p. 198.
[c] Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 100.
[d] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 716.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 1132.
[f] Poll. lib. 4, cap. 18, § 116.
[g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8, t. ii. p. 557.
[h] Ariſtot. Œcon. t. i. p. 511. Ælian. lib. 1, cap. 20.
[i] Poll. lib. 4, cap. 18, § 116.
[k] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 477.

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black, and apply to their faces a layer of ceruse or white lead, with deep tints of rouge[l]. They sprinkle over their hair, which is crowned with flowers[m], a yellow coloured powder[n]. In proportion as they wish to increase or diminish their stature, they wear higher or lower heels[o].

Shut up in their apartments, they are deprived of the pleasure of participating in, and adding to, the pleasure of the companies assembled by their husbands. The law permits them to go out in the day only on certain occasions, and never in the night-time but in a carriage, and with a flambeau to light them[p]; but this law, defective, because it is impossible to extend its operation to all conditions, leaves the women of the lower classes in a state of perfect liberty[q], and is become for those of a higher class only a simple rule of decorum, a rule which urgency of business, or the slightest pretexts, afford them an opportunity of violating every day[r]. There are however many occasions

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[l] Xenoph. Memor. p. 847. Lys. de Cæde Eratosth. p. 8. Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 13, p. 557. Alex. ibid. p. 568. Etymol. Magn. in Ἔψιμ.

[m] Simon. ap. Stob. serm. 71, p. 436.

[n] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 2, v. 88. Hesych. in Θάψ. Salm. in Plin. p. 1163.

[o] Lys. in Simon. p. 72. Xenoph. ibid. Alex. ap. Athen. ib.

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 90.

[q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 15, t. ii. p. 383.

[r] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 157 et 160.

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on which they may leave their retirement. Private ceremonies, to which no men have access, often assemble them among themselves[s]; and in public festivals they are present at the spectacles as well as the ceremonies of the temple. But in general they are not to appear unless attended by eunuchs[t], or female slaves who belong to them, or are occasionally hired in order to enlarge their retinue[u]. If their dress or carriage be not decent, magistrates, appointed to watch over them, impose on them a heavy penalty, and inscribe their sentence on a tablet, which they suspend on one of the plane trees of the public walk[x].

But they are sometimes indemnified for the restraint in which they live by testimonials of a different nature. I one day met the young Leucippe, whose budding and hitherto unknown charms shone through a veil, lifted up at intervals by the wind. She was returning from the temple of Ceres, with her mother and some slaves. The young Athenians, who eagerly followed her steps, could only obtain a momentary glimpse of her; yet the next day I read on the door of her house, at the corner of the streets, on the bark of trees, and in the most public places, these words written by

[s] Aristoph. Lysist. v. 1. Schol. ibid.
[t] Terent. in Eunuch. act. 1, scen. 2, v. 87.
[u] Theophr. Charact. cap. 22. Casaub. ibid.
[x] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 112. Not. Jung. ibid.

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different hands: "Leucippe is beautiful; nothing is so beautiful as Leucippe [y]."

The Athenians were formerly so jealous, that they would not permit their women to shew themselves at the window [z]. They have since discovered that this excessive severity only served to hasten the evil they were so anxious to prevent [a]. Still however they are not permitted to be visited by men in the absence of their husbands [b]; and, should a husband surprise his rival in the act of dishonouring him, he may put him to death [c], or oblige him by torments to ransom his life [d]: but if the wife has only yielded to force, he can demand no more than a pecuniary fine at the discretion of the judges. It has been thought, with reason, that violence, on such occasions, is less to be dreaded than seduction [e].

The first publication of an infidelity of this nature, is not the only punishment reserved for the guilty and convicted wife. She is instantly repudiated; the laws exclude her for ever from all religious ceremonies [f]; and should she venture to

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[y] Eurip. ap. Eustath. in lib. ζ. Iliad. t. ii. p. 632. Callim. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 144. Kuster. ibid. Suid. in Καλ.

[z] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 792 et 804.

[a] Menand. ap. Stob. serm. 72, p. 440.

[b] Demosth. in Everg. p. 1057 et 1060.

[c] Lys. pro Cæd. Eratosth. p. 15.

[d] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 168. Schol. ibid.

[e] Lys. pro Cæd. Eratosth. p. 18.

[f] Demosth. in Neær. p. 875.

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appear in a ſtudied dreſs, every one has a right to ſtrip her of her ornaments, to tear her clothes, and load her with opprobrious expreſſions [g].

A huſband, obliged to repudiate his wife, muſt firſt addreſs himſelf to a tribunal in which one of the chief magiſtrates preſides [h]. The ſame tribunal receives the complaints of wives who ſeek to be divorced from their huſbands. There was it that, after long conflicts between jealouſy and love, the wife of Alcibiades, the virtuous and too ſenſible Hipparete, appeared. While, with a trembling hand ſhe was preſenting the memorial ſetting forth her grievances, Alcibiades ſuddenly arrived, and, taking her under his arm, without the leaſt reſiſtance on her part, croſſed the forum with her, amidſt the general applauſes of the people, and led her back quietly to his houſe [i]. The irregularities of this Athenian were ſo public, that this action of Hipparete neither injured the reputation of her huſband, nor her own. But, in general, women of a certain condition dare not apply for a divorce; and, whether it be from weakneſs or from pride, the greater part of them rather chooſe to ſubmit to unworthy treatment in private, than free themſelves by an open rupture that muſt

[g] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 289.
[h] Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 457 et 459.
[i] Andoc. in Alcib. p. 30. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.

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expoſe their huſbands or themſelves to ſhame[k]. It is unneceſſary to add, that a divorce leaves the parties at liberty to contract a new marriage.

The rigour of the laws however cannot extinguiſh in the heart the natural deſire of pleaſing, which the precautions of jealouſy ſerve only to enflame. The Athenian women, removed from all public affairs by the conſtitution of the government, and ſtrongly incited to voluptuouſneſs by the influence of the climate, often know no ambition but that of being beloved, no care but that of dreſs, and no virtue but the apprehenſion of a ſtain upon their honour. As they are generally extremely careful to conceal themſelves beneath the veil of myſtery, few of them have become famous for their gallantries.

This celebrity is reſerved for the courtezans. The laws protect theſe women as a corrective poſſibly of more odious vices[l]; and the public manners are not ſufficiently alarmed at the outrages they receive from them: nay, the abuſe is carried to ſuch a height, as openly to wound both reaſon and decorum. A married woman ſeems only deſtined to ſuperintend domeſtic affairs, and to perpetuate the name of a family by giving children to the republic[m]. Young men at their firſt en-

[k] Eurip. in Med. v. 236.
[l] Athen. lib. 13, p. 569.
[m] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 881.

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trance into the world, men of a more advanced period of life, magiſtrates, philoſophers, almoſt all perſons poſſeſſed of a tolerable income, reſerve their complaiſance for their kept miſtreſſes, with whom they paſs part of the day, and who ſometimes bring them children, whom they adopt, and incorporate with their legitimate offspring [n].

Some of theſe women, brought up in the art of ſeduction by females who add the force of example to their inſtructions [o], vie with each other in endeavours to ſurpaſs their models. The charms of beauty and of youth, the graces of their perſon, elegance of dreſs, muſic, dancing, and every pleaſing and polite accompliſhment, a cultivated mind, happy witticiſms, and the artifice of language and of ſentiment [p], all are employed by them to captivate and retain their admirers; and ſuch faſcination is there in theſe allurements, that thoſe they have enſnared frequently diſſipate on theſe ſyrens their fortune, and ſacrifice their honour, until, abandoned for ſome freſh victim, they are left to drag out the remainder of their lives in ignominy and regret.

Notwithſtanding the power theſe courtezans poſſeſs over their votaries, they muſt not ſhew themſelves in the ſtreets with rich trinkets or

[n] Athen. lib. 13, p. 576 et 577. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 141.
[o] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 13, p. 568. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 863.
[p] Athen. lib. 13, p. 577, 583, &c.

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jewels [q]; nor dare men in office appear with them in public [r].

Beſides the danger which young perſons are expoſed to from theſe women, they frequently have but too much reaſon to regret the time they miſpend in certain deſtructive houſes, the haunts of gameſters, and where great wagers are often made at cock fights [s]. They have ſtill further to dread even the conſequences of that inſtitution which formed part of their education, and the ſpirit of which they miſapply. Scarcely have they left the gymnaſium, before, animated with the deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the chariot and horſe races that are exhibited at Athens and in the other Grecian cities, they abandon themſelves without reſerve to all theſe exerciſes. They ſet up rich equipages, and maintain an immoderate number of dogs and horſes [t]; expences which, added to the oſtentation of their dreſs, ſoon totally diſſipate the inheritance they have received from their anceſtors [u].

In general every perſon walks on foot at Athens, whether in the city or the environs. The rich ſometimes make uſe of chariots and litters, the

[q] Terent. in Eunuch. act. 4, ſcen. 1, v. 13. Meurſ. Them. Att. lib. 1, cap. 6.

[r] Terent. ibid. act 3, ſcen. 2, v. 42.

[s] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 335. Æſchin. in Tim. p. 268.

[t] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 196. Terent. in Andr. act. 1, ſcen. 1, v. 28.

[u] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 13.

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perpetual objects of the censure and envy of their fellow-citizens [x]; sometimes they are followed by a servant carrying a folding chair, that they may sit down in the forum [y], and as often as they are fatigued with walking [z]. The men almost always appear with a cane [a]; the women very often with an umbrella. At night they are lighted by a slave, who carries a flambeau ornamented with different colours [b].

For a few of the first days after my arrival, I amused myself with examining the bills stuck up over the doors of the houses. On some of them I read: A HOUSE TO SELL [c]; A HOUSE TO LET. On others: THIS IS THE HOUSE OF SUCH A ONE, LET NOTHING EVIL ENTER [d]. I did not gratify this little curiosity for nothing; for, in the principal streets, the passenger is continually pushed, squeezed, and crowded by a multitude of people on foot and on horseback, by carters [e], water-carriers [f], criers of edicts [g], beggars [h], and labourers. One day,

[x] Dem. in Mid. p. 628. Id. in Phænip. p. 1025. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 177.
[y] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1381. Hesych. in Ὀκλαδ.
[z] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 310. Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 74.
[a] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1345. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 7, § 174.
[b] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 614. Id. in Lysistr. v. 1219. Schol. in Vesp. v. 1364.
[c] Laert. in Diog. lib. 6, § 47.
[d] Id. ibid. § 39. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7, p. 843.
[e] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 192.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9, cap. 17.
[g] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1038.
[h] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 353 et 354.

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whilſt I was with Diogenes looking at ſome little dogs trained to perform a number of tricks [i], one of theſe labourers paſſing along, carrying a great beam, gave him a violent blow with it, and then cried out: "Take care."—"What," ſaid Diogenes, "are you going to ſtrike me a ſecond time [k]?"

Perſons not attended at night by ſervants, are in danger of being robbed [l], notwithſtanding the vigilance of the magiſtrates, who are obliged to take their nightly rounds [m]. The city maintains a guard of Scythians [n], to be in readineſs to aſſiſt the magiſtrates, to carry the judgments of the courts of juſtice into execution, and to preſerve good order in the general aſſemblies and at public ceremonies [o]. They pronounce the Greek in ſo barbarous a manner, as to be ſometimes ridiculed on the ſtage [p], and are ſo fond of wine, as to render the expreſſion, "to drink like a Scythian [q]," proverbial for drinking to exceſs.

The people are naturally abſtemious. Their chief food conſiſts of ſalt meat and vegetables.

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[i] Xenoph. de Admin. Domeſt. p. 855.
[k] Laert. lib. 6, § 41.
[l] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 664.
[m] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 650.
[n] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Τοξότ. Meurſ. Ceram. Gem. cap. 16. Jungerm. in Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 132.
[o] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 434.
[p] Id. in Theſmoph. v. 1016. Schol. ibid. Demetr. de Elocut. § 96.
[q] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 84. Ariſtot. Problem. ſect. 3, t. ii. p. 695. Athen. lib. 10, cap. 7, p. 27.

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Such as are unable to maintain themſelves, either in conſequence of wounds they have received in war, or becauſe their misfortunes have rendered them incapable of working, are paid daily from the public treaſury, one or two oboli[r], granted them by the aſſembly of the nation. The liſt of perſons who are the objects of this benefaction, is from time to time examined in the ſenate, and the names of thoſe who are no longer entitled to receive it ſtruck off[s]. The neceſſities of the poor are relieved likewiſe by other means. Every new moon, the rich expoſe proviſions in certain public places in honour of the goddeſs Hecate, which are left to the diſpoſal of the populace[t].

I had taken an exact account of the price of the different articles of proviſion, but this I have loſt. I can only recollect that the uſual price of corn[u], was five drachmas the medimnus *. The beſt ox[x] was worth about eighty drachmas †; a ſheep,

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[r] Lyſ. adv. Delat. p. 414 et 416. Ariſtid. in Panathen. t. i. p. 331. Heſych. et Harpocr. in Ἀδύ.

[s] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 276.

[t] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 594. Schol. ibid. Demoſth. in Conon. p. 1114.

[u] Demoſth. adv. Phorm. p. 946.

* 4 livres 10 ſols (or three ſhillings and nine-pence). Reckoning the drachma at 18 ſols (or nine-pence), and the medimnus at ſomething above 4 buſhels (Goguet, Orig. des Lois, t. iii. p. 260), our ſeptier (a French meaſure of 12 buſhels) of corn would have been worth about 13 of our livres (or 10 ſhillings and ten-pence Engliſh).

[x] Marmor. Sandwic. p. 35.

† 72 livres (or 3 l. ſterling.)

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the fifth part of the value of an ox [y], or about sixteen drachmas * ; a lamb, ten drachmas † [z].

It will naturally be imagined that these prices increase in times of dearth. The medimnus of wheat has been known to rise from five drachmas, its ordinary value, to sixteen drachmas; and that of barley as high as eighteen [a]. Independent of these transient causes, it was observed, during my stay at Athens, that for about the last seventy years the price of every article had been continually rising, and that wheat in particular was then dearer by two fifths than during the Peloponnesian war [b].

We do not here meet with such splendid fortunes as in Persia; and when I speak of the opulence and ostentation of the Athenians, it is only relatively to the other states of Greece. A small number of families however have enriched themselves by commerce, and some by silver mines they possess at Laurium. The other citizens esteem themselves masters of a decent fortune, when they have estates to the value of fifteen or twenty talents ‡, and are able to give their

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[y] Demetr. Phaler. ap. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

* About 14 livres 8 sols (or 12 s.)

† 9 livres (or 7 s. and 6 d.) See note at the end of the volume.

[z] Menand. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 146; et lib. 8, p. 364.

[a] Demosth. adv. Phorm. p. 946. Id. adv. Phænip. p. 1025.

[b] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 380 et 543.

‡ The talent was worth 5400 livres (or 225 l. sterling).

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daughters a marriage portion of a hundred minæ [c] *.

Though the Athenians have the intolerable fault of lending an ear to calumny, without a proper enquiry into facts [d], they are malignant only from frivolouſneſs; and it is a common remark, that, when good, they are better than the other Greeks, becauſe their goodneſs is not a virtue of education [e].

The common people are more rude and noiſy here than perhaps any where elſe; but among the firſt claſs of citizens we ſee that decorum that impreſſes us with the idea that a man has a proper eſteem for himſelf, and that politeneſs which has the appearance of eſteem for others, univerſally prevail. Good company requires a propriety of language and behaviour [f]. It requires that thoſe marks of reſpect, by which men are prepoſſeſſed in favour of each other, ſhould be properly adapted to times and perſons [g]; and conſiders an affected or precipitate carriage as a mark of vanity or levity [h]; and a blunt, ſententious, or too lofty tone, as a

[c] Demoſth. in Steph. 1, p. 978.

* 9000 livres (or 375 l. ſterling.) See note at the end of the volume.

[d] Plut. Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 799.

[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 642.

[f] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 17, t. ii. p. 448. Theophr. Charact. cap. 4.

[g] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 54. Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Plut. v. 325.

[h] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 995.

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proof of bad education or ruſticity[i]. All peeviſh whims[k], overſtrained officiouſneſs, diſdainful airs, and ſtudied ſingularities, are likewiſe condemned by the laws of good company.

The ſame laws require a certain facility of manners, equally removed from that crouching complaiſance that approves every thing, and that ill-humoured auſterity which nothing can pleaſe[l]. But what diſtinguiſhes good company moſt, is a delicate and light pleaſantry[m], which unites decency with freedom; which we muſt pardon in others, and ſecure pardon for in ourſelves; which few people know how to employ, and fewer ſtill are able to underſtand. It conſiſts———No, I will ſay no more. Thoſe who know what it is will underſtand me, and it would be impoſſible to explain myſelf to others. It is characterized at preſent by the name of addreſs and dexterity, becauſe wit ſhould never ſparkle but in favour of others, and becauſe in its moſt brilliant ſtrokes its object ſhould always be to pleaſe and not to offend[n]. Yet is it often confounded with ſatire, coarſe humour, or buffoonery[o]; for each ſociety has its

[i] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 995. Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 2, cap. 21, t. ii. p. 572. Theophr. Charact. cap. 4.

[k] Theophr. Charact. cap. 13, 15, et 17.

[l] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 54. Id. Rhet. lib. 2, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 552.

[m] Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1, cap. 31, t. ii. p. 164. Id. Rhet. p. 552.

[n] Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 4, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 56.

[o] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 336.

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particular tone. That of good company has been almoſt entirely formed in our own times; as a proof of which we need only compare the ancient dramatic pieces with the modern. Scarcely half a century has elapſed ſince comedies were filled with indelicate expreſſions, and diſguſting obſcenities, which at this day would not be endured for a moment [p].

In Athens there are ſeveral ſocieties, the members of which enter into a mutual engagement to aſſiſt each other. If a judicial proſecution be commenced againſt any one of them, or if he be attacked by his creditors, he has inſtant recourſe to the ſuccour of his aſſociates. In the firſt caſe, they accompany him to his trial, and ſerve, ſhould it be neceſſary, as advocates or witneſſes [q]; in the ſecond, they advance the ſum neceſſary to extricate him from his difficulties without requiring any intereſt for it, and preſcribe no other time for the repayment of the loan, than the re-eſtabliſhment of his fortune or his credit [r]. If he afterwards fails in his engagements, when able to fulfil them, he is not indeed liable to a proſecution, but his honour is loſt [s]. They ſometimes meet and cement their friendly union at entertainments, in which good

[p] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 56.
[q] Lyſ. Delat. in Obtrect. p. 159.
[r] Theophr. Charact. cap. 15 et 17. Caſaub. in Theophr. cap. 15. Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 429.
[s] Herald. Animadv. in Salmaſ. lib. 6, cap. 3, p. 414.

humour

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humour and innocent freedom ſhine conſpicuous [t]. Theſe aſſociations, originally founded on noble and generous motives, are at preſent maintained only from unjuſt and intereſted views. The rich man at their meetings mixes in company with the poor, to induce them to perjure themſelves in his favour [u]; and the poor man ſeeks the ſociety of the rich, in order to acquire ſome claim to their protection.

Among the various ſocieties of Athens, there is one whoſe only object is to obſerve and collect every ſpecies of ridiculous abſurdity, and to divert itſelf with pleaſantries and bons-mots. The members of it, to the number of ſixty, are all men of extraordinary vivacity and brilliant wit: their meetings are held from time to time in the temple of Hercules, where they pronounce their humourous decrees in preſence of a crowd of ſpectators drawn thither by the ſingularity of the ſcene; nor have the misfortunes of the ſtate ever induced them to intermit their meetings [x].

Two extremes of folly, among others, multiply the decrees of this tribunal. Some perſons here endeavour to ſurpaſs even Attic elegance, whilſt others ſeem to ſtrive to outdo even Spartan ſimplicity. The former take eſpecial care to have a

[t] Æſchin. in Ctesiph. p. 468. Duport. in Theophr. cap. 10, p. 351.
[u] Demoſth. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐρανοι.
[x] Athen. lib. 14, p. 614.

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ſmooth chin, frequently to change their dreſs, to diſplay the poliſhed enamel of their teeth, and to load themſelves with perfumes[y]. They wear flowers at their ears[z], carry twiſted canes in their hands[a], and wear *Alcibiades' ſhoes*, a kind of ſhoes, the firſt idea of which was given by Alcibiades, and which are ſtill in faſhion among young people attentive to their dreſs[b]. The latter affect the manners of the Lacedæmonians, and are conſequently charged with the *Laconomania*[c]. Their hair hangs in diſorder over their ſhoulders; they diſtinguiſh themſelves by a coarſe cloak, plain ſandals, a long beard, a huge ſtaff, a ſolemn gait[d], and, if I may venture ſo to ſpeak, by all the inſignia of modeſty. The ſingularities of the firſt, calculated only to attract attention, are leſs offenſive than thoſe of the ſecond claſs, who make a direct attack on our eſteem. I have ſeen this pretended ſimplicity[e] treated as inſolence by men of ſenſe, and they were in the right: every excluſive pretenſion is an uſurpation, for ſuch pretenſions evidently encroach upon the claims of others.

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[y] Theophr. Charact. cap. 5.
[z] Cratin. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 553.
[a] Theophr. ibid.
[b] Athen. lib. 12, p. 534.
[c] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1281. Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342. Demoſth. adv. Conon. p. 1113.
[d] Demoſth. ibid. Plut. in Phoc. p. 746.
[e] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4, cap. 13, t. ii. p. 56.

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CHAP. XXI.

Of Religion, of the Prieſts and ſacred Miniſters, and of the principal Offences againſt Religion.

I HERE only mean to ſpeak of the eſtabliſhed religion. I ſhall in another place give the opinions of philoſophers on the ſubject of the Deity.

The public worſhip is founded on this law: "Honour in public and in private the gods and heroes of the country. Let every one annually offer up, according to his abilities, and the cuſtomary rites, the firſt fruits of his harveſts [f]."

From the earlieſt times the objects of religious worſhip have multiplied among the Athenians. They received the twelve principal divinities [g] from the Egyptians [h]; and others from the Libyans and different nations [i]. In proceſs of time a law was enacted, prohibiting, under pain of death, the introduction of any foreign worſhip without a

[f] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4, § 22, p. 380.
[g] Pind. Olymp. 10, v. 59. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 95. Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 54.
[h] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 4.
[i] Id. lib. 2, cap. 50; et lib. 4, cap. 188.

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decree of the Areopagus, moved for by the public orators [k]. Within the laſt century, this tribunal becoming leſs ſcrupulous, the gods of Thrace, of Phrygia, and ſome other barbarous people, have made an irruption into Attica [l], and triumphantly maintained their ground, in deſpite of the pleaſantries with which the theatre rings againſt theſe ſtrange deities, and the nocturnal ceremonies celebrated in their honour [m].

It was a ſublime inſtitution of ancient times to conſecrate by monuments and feſtivals the memory of kings and individuals who had rendered eſſential ſervices to mankind. Such is the origin of the profound veneration paid to heroes. In the number of theſe, the Athenians place Theſeus, the firſt author of their liberty; Erechtheus, one of their ancient kings [n]; thoſe who merited to give their name to the ten tribes [o]; and others again, among whom we muſt diſtinguiſh Hercules, who is indiſcriminately ranked in the claſs of gods and in that of heroes [p].

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[k] Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 2, p. 491 et 493. Harpocrat. in Εανδίτ.

[l] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1, t. i. p. 327 et 354. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 516. Strab. lib. 10, p. 471. Heſych. in Θεοὶ ξένικ..

[m] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 9. Lyſiſt. v. 389, &c. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 15, t. iii. p. 149.

[n] Meurſ. de Regib. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 12.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 13.

[p] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 44. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 15, p. 37; lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 133.

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The worſhip of the latter differs eſſentially from that of the gods, as well in the object as in the ceremonies. The Greeks proſtrate themſelves before the divinity, to acknowledge their dependence, to implore his protection, or thank him for his bounties. They conſecrate temples, altars, and groves, and celebrate feſtivals and games in honour of the heroes [q], to perpetuate their glory, and recall the memory of their illuſtrious deeds. Incenſe is burnt on their altars, at the ſame time that libations are poured over their tombs to procure repoſe to their manes. The ſacrifices with which they are honoured by their votaries, therefore, are, properly ſpeaking, addreſſed only to the infernal gods.

Secret doctrines are taught in the myſteries of Eleuſis, and in thoſe of Bacchus, and other divinities. But the reigning religion si totally external. It holds out no body of doctrine, no public inſtruction, no rigorous injunction to participate, on ſtated days, in the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The only faith required is to ſeem perſuaded that the gods exiſt, and reward virtue, either in this life, or in that to come: the only practice, to perform at intervals ſome religious acts, ſuch as appearing in the temple at the ſolemn feſtivals, and ſacrificing on the public altars [r].

[q] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 11.
[r] Xenoph. Apol. Socrat. p. 703.

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The religion of the common people entirely consists in prayers, sacrifices, and purifications.

Individuals address their prayers to the gods at the beginning of any undertaking[s]. These they offer up in the morning, the evening, and at the rising and setting of the sun and moon[t]. Sometimes they repair to the temple with downcast eyes and a serious deportment[u], and present themselves as suppliants. There is not a mark of respect, of fear or flattery, that courtiers shew to sovereigns on approaching the throne, but are testified by men toward the gods on coming near their altars. They kiss the ground[x]; they pray standing[y], on their knees[z], prostrate[a], and holding branches in their hands[b], which they elevate towards heaven, or stretch out towards the statue of the god, after applying it to their mouths[c]. If the worship be directed to the infernal deities, they fail not, in order to attract their attention, to strike the earth with their feet or hands[d].

Some pronounce their prayers in a low voice.

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[s] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 27.
[t] Id. de Leg. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 887.
[u] Id. in Alcib. 2, t. ii. p. 138.
[x] Potter. Archæolog. lib. 2, cap. 5.
[y] Philostr. in Apollon. Vit. lib. 6, cap. 4, p. 233.
[z] Theophr. Charact. cap. 16.
[a] Laert. in Diogen. lib. 6, § 37.
[b] Sophocl. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 3. Schol. ibid.
[c] Lucian. in encom. Demosth. § 49, t. iii. p. 526.
[d] Homer. Iliad. 9, v. 564. Schol. ibid. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 2, cap. 25, t. ii. p. 297.

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Pythagoras wiſhed them always to be ſaid aloud, that nothing might be aſked which could excite a bluſh [e]. And in fact, what rule can be more excellent than that we ſhould hold converſe with the gods as if in preſence of men, and with men as if in the preſence of the gods?

At public ſolemnities the Athenians prefer in common their vows for the proſperity of the ſtate, and of their allies [f]; ſometimes for the preſervation of the fruits of the earth, and the return of rain, or of fine weather; ſometimes to be delivered from peſtilence and famine [g].

The religious ceremonies of the Athenians frequently afford a beautiful and moſt awful ſpectacle. The ſpace before the temple, and the porticos that ſurround it, are full of people. The prieſts advance under the veſtibule near the altar. After the officiating prieſt has ſaid, in a ſonorous voice, "Let us make libations, and let us pray [h]," one of the ſubordinate miniſters, in order to obtain from the congregation a declaration of their devout diſpoſitions, demands: "Who are they who compoſe this aſſembly?" "Honeſt people," reply they, all in concert. "Be ſilent then," adds he. Prayers adapted to the occaſion are then recited, and pre-

[e] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4, p. 641.

[f] Theopomp. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 881. Liv. lib. 31, cap. 44.

[g] Eurip. in Supplic. v. 28. Procl. in Tim. lib. 2, p. 65. Thom. Gale not. in Jamblic. Myſter. p. 283.

[h] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 434 et 965.

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ſently the ſacred hymns are chanted by choruſes of youths. Their voices are ſo harmonious, and ſo well ſeconded by the art of the poet, attentive to ſelect moving ſubjects, as to draw tears from the greater part of the audience[i]. But the religious muſic is in general lively, and more proper to inſpire joy than ſorrow. Such is the impreſſion made on us at the feſtivals of Bacchus, when after one of the miniſters has ſaid aloud, "Invoke the god;" every perſon immediately joins in a hymn beginning with theſe words: "O ſon of Semele[k]! O Bacchus, diſpenſer of riches!"

Individuals weary heaven by ridiculous prayers, perſecuting the gods to grant them every thing that may contribute to their ambition or their pleaſures. Theſe prayers are conſidered as blaſphemy by ſome philoſophers[l], who, perſuaded that men are not capable of diſcerning what is really for their advantage, would wiſh them to place their ſole reliance on the bounty of the gods, or, at leaſt, never to addreſs them but in that kind of formulary handed down to us in the writings of an ancient poet: "O! thou who art the king of heaven, grant us what is uſeful to us, whether we aſk it, or whether we aſk it not! Refuſe us what would be hurtful to us, even ſhould we aſk it[m]!"

[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 800.
[k] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 482.
[l] Plat. in Alcib. 2, t. ii. p. 149.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 143.

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Formerly ſacrifices to the gods were confined to the fruits of the earth [n], and we ſtill ſee in Greece ſeveral altars on which it is forbidden to immolate any victims [o]. Bloody ſacrifices were with difficulty introduced. Man felt a natural horror at plunging the ſteel into the breaſt of an animal deſtined to the plough, and become the companion of his labours [p]: it was prohibited under pain of death [q] by an expreſs law; and univerſal practice induced him to abſtain from the fleſh of animals [r]. The reſpect long entertained for ancient traditions, is evinced by a ceremony repeated every year.

At a feſtival conſecrated to Jupiter, offerings are placed on an altar, near to which ſeveral oxen are made to paſs, and the ox that touches theſe offerings is to be the deſtined victim. Water is then brought in vaſes by young damſels; and the miniſters of the god bear the inſtrument of ſacrifice. Scarcely has the ſlaughterer ſtruck the blow before he drops the axe and takes to flight. Mean while his companions taſte of the victim, ſow up the hide, ſtuff it with hay, faſten this ſhapeleſs figure to a plough, and then go to juſtify themſelves before

[n] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2, § 6, &c.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 26, p. 62. Id. lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 600; cap. 42, p. 688.
[p] Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. lib. 5, cap. 14.
[q] Var. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 2, cap. 5.
[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 782.

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judges, to whoſe tribunal they are ſummoned. The girls who have furniſhed the water to ſharpen the inſtruments, throw the blame on thoſe who have actually whetted them; the latter, on the perſons who have ſlaughtered the victim; and theſe again, on the inſtruments, which are condemned as the perpetrators of the murder, and caſt into the ſea[s].

This myſterious ceremony is of the higheſt antiquity, and perpetuates the memory of an event that occurred in the time of Erechtheus. A huſbandman having placed his offering on the altar, killed an ox which had devoured part of it. He fled, and a criminal proſecution was inſtituted againſt the axe[t].

When the fruits of the earth were the only food of men, care was taken to reſerve a certain portion for the gods. The ſame practice was continued when they began to feed upon the fleſh of animals; and hence poſſibly the origin of ſanguinary ſacrifices, which, in fact, are only repaſts offered to the gods, and of which thoſe who are preſent are invited to partake.

An acquaintance with a multitude of practices and ceremonies conſtitutes all the ſcience of the prieſts. Sometimes water is to be poured on the

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 24, p. 57. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8, cap. 3. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2, § 29, p. 154.
[t] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 28, p. 70.

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altar or the head of the victims; sometimes honey or oil [u]. But in general they are sprinkled with wine; and then the wood of the fig-tree, the myrtle, or the vine, are burnt upon the altar [x]. Nor is less attention necessary in the choice of the victim, which must be without a blemish, and have no defect or disorder. All animals likewise are not equally proper for sacrifice. At first, none were offered up but such as served for food, as the ox, the sheep, the goat, the hog, &c. [y]. Afterward horses were sacrificed to the sun, stags to Diana, and dogs to Hecate. Each country, each temple, has its particular usages. The aversion and predilection of the gods are equally fatal to the animals consecrated to their worship.

But why should a cake, made with barley-meal and salt [a], be placed on the head of the victim? Why should the hair be plucked from its forehead, and thrown into the fire [b]? Why should the thighs be burned with cloven wood [c]?

When I pressed the ministers of the temples to explain to me these rites, they gave me the same answer

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[u] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2, § 20, p. 138.
[x] Suid. in Νηφάλ.
[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1, v. 66. Schol. ibid. Aristot. ap. Athen. lib. 15, cap. 5, p. 674. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 437.
[z] Suid. in Θύσαν. Homer. Iliad. et Odyss. passim.
[a] Serv. ad Virgil. Æneid. lib. 2, v. 133.
[b] Homer. Odyss. lib. 3, v. 446. Eurip. in Electr. v. 810.
[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1, v. 462.

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as a prieſt of Thebes, of whom I had enquired why the Bœotians offered eels to the gods. "We obſerve," ſaid he, "the cuſtoms of our forefathers, without thinking ourſelves obliged to give a reaſon for them to every ſtranger [d]."

The victim is ſhared between the gods, the prieſts, and thoſe who have preſented it. The portion of the deities is conſumed by fire; that of the prieſts conſtitutes part of their revenue, and the third ſerves as a pretext to the perſons who receive it, to give an entertainment to their friends [e]. Some there are who, wiſhing to make a parade of their opulence, ſtrive to diſtinguiſh themſelves by pompous ſacrifices. I have ſeen individuals who, after immolating an ox, decorated the fore part of its head with flowers and ribbons, and had it ſuſpended at their doors [f]. As the ſacrifice of the ox is in the higheſt eſtimation, little cakes in the ſhape of that animal are made for the poor; and the prieſts are obliged to content themſelves with this offering [g].

So imperious is the ſway with which ſuperſtition rules the mind, that it renders even the mildeſt people on earth ferocious. Human ſacrifices were formerly not unfrequent among the Greeks [h].

[d] Athen. lib. 7, cap. 13, p. 297.
[e] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2, p. 745.
[f] Theophr. Charact. cap. 21.
[g] Suid. in Βῆς. Ἔβδ.
[h] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. t. i. p. 36. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2, § 54, p. 197, &c.

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They were common in almoſt every nation, and in ſome the practice is continued to this day[i]; but it is impoſſible that it ſhould long ſubſiſt, for abſurd and uſeleſs cruelties muſt ſooner or later yield to nature and to reaſon. The blind confidence which man places in the external acts of religion, has eſtabliſhed a more laſting empire. The unjuſt, nay the worſt of villains, dare to flatter themſelves with the hopes of corrupting the gods by preſents, and of deceiving them by the outward ſhew of piety[k]. In vain do philoſophers declaim againſt ſo dangerous an error, which will ever be cheriſhed by the bulk of mankind, becauſe it will always be eaſier to furniſh victims than to be virtuous.

The Athenians once complained to the oracle of Ammon, that the gods had declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, who offered to them only a ſmall number of victims, and thoſe meagre and mutilated. The oracle replied, that not all the ſacrifices of the Greeks were equal in worth to the humble and modeſt prayer in which the Lacedæmonians are contented with aſking the only real bleſſings of the gods[l]. This oracle of Jupiter reminds me of another which reflects no leſs honour on that of Apollo. A rich Theſſalian being

[i] Plat de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 10, p. 885, 905 et 906.
[l] Plat. Alcib. 2, t. ii. p. 148.

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at Delphi, offered up, with all the parade of oſtentation, an hundred oxen with gilded horns. At the ſame inſtant, a poor citizen of Hermione drawing a handful of flour from his wallet, threw it into the flame burning on the altar. The Pythia declared that this man's worſhip was more acceptable to the gods than that of the Theſſalian [m].

As water purifies the body, it was imagined from analogy capable alſo of purifying the ſoul; and this effect it was ſuppoſed to operate in two ways, either by freeing it from its pollutions, or by diſpoſing it to contract none. Hence two ſorts of luſtration, the one expiatory, the other preparatory. By the former, the clemency of the gods is implored; and by the latter, their aſſiſtance.

Care is taken to purify children immediately after their birth [n]; as alſo thoſe who enter the temples [o]; ſuch as have committed homicide, even though involuntary [p]; perſons afflicted with certain diſorders, conſidered as ſigns of the anger of heaven, ſuch as the plague [q], phrenzy [r], &c.; and all, in ſhort, who wiſh to render themſelves acceptable to the gods.

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[m] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2, § 15, p. 126.
[n] Suid. et Harpocr. in Ἀμφιδ.
[o] Eurip. in Ion. v. 95.
[p] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 736.
[q] Laert. in Epim. lib. 1, § 110.
[r] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 118. Schol. ibid.

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This ceremony has insensibly been applied to temples, altars, and all places supposed to be honoured by the presence of the Deity; to cities, streets, houses, fields; to every place either profaned by crimes, or which it is wished should be particularly favoured by heaven [s].

Every year the city of Athens is purified, on the 6th of the month Thargelion [t]. As often as the anger of heaven is manifested against it by pestilence or famine, a ceremony is had recourse to, which is supposed to divert the calamity on a man and woman of the lower classes of the people, maintained by the state, to become, when needful, expiatory victims, each in the name of their respective sexes. These are led in procession through the streets, to the sound of instruments; and, after receiving a few stripes, are driven out of the city. Formerly they were committed to the flames, and their ashes scattered in the wind [u].

Though sea water be the best suited to purifications [x], what is called lustral water is generally used. This is common water, in which a burning firebrand, taken from the altar at the sacrifice of

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[s] Lomey. de Lustr.

[t] Diog. Laert, lib. 2, § 44.

[u] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1133, Schol. ibid. Id. in Ran, v. 745. Schol. ibid. Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1590. Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Thargel.

[x] Eurip. Iph. in Taur. v. 1193. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 1, p. 108.

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a victim, has been dipped[y]. The veſſels that are in the veſtibules of the temples, in the places where the general aſſembly is held, and round the coffins in which dead bodies are expoſed to the ſight of paſſengers, are filled with this water[z].

As metals are purified by fire; as ſalt and nitre waſh away filth, and preſerve bodies, and ſmoke and agreeable odours are a ſecurity againſt the corruption of unwholeſome air, it has gradually been conceived that theſe and other expedients might be employed in the different luſtrations. Hence it is that a ſecret virtue is aſcribed to the incenſe burnt in temples[a], and to the flowers uſed to crown thoſe who ſacrifice. Hence likewiſe is it that a houſe is ſuppoſed to recover its purity by the ſmoke of ſulphur, and by the ſprinkling of a water impregnated with a few grains of ſalt[b]. On certain occaſions, it is deemed ſufficient to turn round a fire[c], or to ſee a little dog, or other animal, paſs round their perſons[d]. In the luſtration of cities, the victims intended for ſacrifice are led along the walls[e].

The rites differ, according to the greater or leſs

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y Eurip. Herc. Fur. v. 928. Athen. lib. 9, cap. 18, p. 409.
z Caſaub. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 16, p. 126.
a Plaut. Amphitr. act. 2, ſcen. 2, v. 107.
b Theocr. idyl. 24, v. 94.
c Harpocr. in Ἀμφιδρ.
d Lomey. de Luſtr. cap. 23.
e Athen. lib. 14, cap. 5, p. 626.

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importance of the object, and the different degrees of superstition. Some hold it essential to plunge into a river; others, that it is only necessary seven times to immerse the head: but in general they are contented with dipping their hands in lustral water, or with having it sprinkled over them by a priest, who is always in waiting for that purpose at the gate of the temple[f].

Each individual may offer sacrifices on an altar placed at the door of his house, or in a private chapel[g]. There have I often seen a virtuous father, surrounded by his children, joining in the worship of the same god, and forming vows dictated by affection, and worthy of the attention of the divinity. The functions of this kind of priesthood being limited to a single family, it became necessary to appoint ministers for public worship.

In no city are there so many priests and priestesses to be found as at Athens, as there is also none where such a number of temples are erected to the gods, or in which so many festivals are celebrated[h].

In the country towns of Attica, and every other part of Greece, a single priest only is required to officiate in a temple. In considerable cities, the

[f] Hesych. in Ἴδεαν. Lomey. de Lustr. p. 120.
[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 910.
[h] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 700.

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duties of the prieſthood are ſhared among ſeveral perſons, who form a ſort of community, at the head of which is the miniſter of the god, who ſometimes bears the title of high prieſt. Under him are the Neocoros, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſuperintend the decoration and cleanlineſs of the ſacred places[i], and to ſprinkle holy water on the perſons who viſit the temple[k]; ſacrificing prieſts, who ſlaughter the victims; ſoothſayers, who conſult the entrails; heralds, who adjuſt the ceremonies, and diſmiſs the aſſembly[l]. In ſome places, the name of father is beſtowed on the chief of the prieſts, and that of mother on the principal of the prieſteſſes[m].

Functions of inferior ſanctity, and relative to the ſervice of the temple, are intruſted to lay officers. Some are appointed to be guardians of the treaſury; and others to aſſiſt as witneſſes and inſpectors at ſolemn ſacrifices[n].

The prieſts officiate in rich veſtments, on which are inſcribed, in golden letters, the names of the benefactors to the temple[o]. This magnificence derives additional ſplendour from their perſonal

[i] Suid. in Νεωκ.
[k] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 61.
[l] Pott. Archæolog. lib. 2, cap. 3.
[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 411.
[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 759. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 423. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 630. Ulp. in Demoſth. p. 686. Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 276.
[o] Lib. in Demoſth. Orat. adv. Ariſtog. p. 843.

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beauty, their majeſtic deportment, the ſonorouſneſs of their voices, and, above all, from the attributes of the deity whoſe miniſters they are. Thus the prieſteſs of Ceres appears crowned with poppies and ears of corn [p]; the prieſteſs of Minerva, with the ægis, the cuiraſs, and a helmet creſted with tufts of feathers [q].

The prieſthood is in many inſtances annexed to ancient and powerful families, and tranſmitted from father to ſon [r].

In others it is conferred by the people [s]; but in no caſe can this office be filled without a previous examination both of the perſon and morals of the candidate. It is requiſite for the new prieſt to have no perſonal deformity [t], and that his conduct ſhould have been at all times irreproachable [u]. With reſpect to knowledge, it is enough if he is verſed in the ritual of the temple to which he is appointed; if he is able to perform the ceremonies with decency, and to diſcriminate between the different ſpecies of prayers and worſhip to be addreſſed to the gods [x].

Some temples are ſerved by prieſteſſes, as that

[p] Call. Hymn. in Cerer. v. 45. Spanh. ib. t. ii. p. 694. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3, p. 134. Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 843.
[q] Polyæn. lib. 8, cap. 59.
[r] Plat. de Leg. ibid. Plut. ibid. Heſych. Harpocr. et Suid. in Κυνίδ.
[s] Demoſth. Exord. Conc. p. 239.
[t] Etymol. Magn. in Ἀφελ.
[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 759. Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 263.
[x] Plat. Politic. t. ii. p. 290.

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of Bacchus in the quarter of the marſhes. They are fourteen in number, and appointed by the king-archon [y]. Strict continence is required from them. The wife of this archon, ſtyled the queen, initiates them into the myſteries, of which they are the guardians, and obliges them, previous to being received, to take an oath, by which they ſolemnly affirm that they have always lived in the greateſt purity, and ſpotleſs from all intercourſe with man [z].

The revenues aſſigned for the maintenance of the prieſts and temples are derived from different ſources [a]. A tenth part of all penalties and confiſcations is always deducted for Minerva, and a fiftieth for the other deities [b]. A tenth of all the ſpoils taken from the enemy is likewiſe conſecrated to the gods [c]. In each temple, two officers, known by the name of Paraſites, have the right of exacting a meaſure of barley from the different landholders of the diſtrict [d]: in a word, there are few temples which do not poſſeſs houſes and eſtates [e].

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[y] Harpocr. Heſych. et Etymol. Magn. in Γεραι. Poll. lib. 8, § 108.

[z] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 873.

[a] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 66.

[b] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 791. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 449.

[c] Demoſth. ibid. Sophocl. Trach. v. 186. Harpocr. in Δεκατ.

[d] Crates, ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 235.

[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, p. 759. Harpocr. in Ανὰ μηδ. Mauſſac. ibid. Taylor, in Marmor. Sand. p. 64. Chandler, Inſcrip. part 2, p. 75.

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Theſe revenues, to which may be added the offerings of individuals, are under the direction of the treaſurers of the temple [f]. They are employed for the reparation and decorations of the holy places, for the expences incurred by the ſacrifices, and for the ſupport of the prieſts, who almoſt all have ſalaries [g], are provided with lodging, and entitled to certain perquiſites from every victim. Some poſſeſs a more conſiderable revenue, as the prieſteſs of Minerva, to whom a meaſure of wheat, another of barley, and an obolus, muſt be preſented as often as any perſon dies, or a birth takes place in the family [h].

Beſides theſe advantages, the prieſts have an intereſt in maintaining the right of aſylum, granted not only to the temples, but to the ſacred groves in which they ſtand, and to the houſes and chapels within their precincts [i]. A criminal cannot be torn from thence, nor even prevented from receiving his ſubſiſtence. This privilege, as offenſive to the gods as it is convenient to their miniſters, extends even to detached altars [k].

In Egypt the prieſts form the firſt claſs of the ſtate, without being obliged to contribute to its

[f] Ariſtot. Politic. lib. 6, cap. 8, p. 423. Chandl. Inſcript. not. p. xv. &c.

[g] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 430.

[h] Ariſtot. Œcon. lib. 2, t. ii. p. 502.

[i] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 128 et 134. Strab. lib. 8, p. 374. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4, cap. 14.

[k] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 126.

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neceſſities, though the third part of the landed property be ſet apart for their maintenance. The purity of their manners, and the auſterity of their lives, ſecure them the confidence of the people; and their knowledge that of the ſovereign, whoſe council they compoſe, and who muſt be either taken from their body, or have become a member of it before he aſcends the throne [l]. Interpreters as they are of the will of the gods, and diſpoſers of that of men, excluſive guardians of the ſciences, and eſpecially of the ſecrets of medicine [m], the power they enjoy is boundleſs, ſince the prejudices and weakneſſes of men are under their abſolute direction.

Thoſe of Greece have obtained honours; ſuch as diſtinguiſhed places at the theatres [n]. All might, if they choſe, confine themſelves to the functions of their ſacred miniſtry, and ſpend their days in pleaſing indolence [o]; but many of them, anxious to merit by their zeal the reſpect due to their character, have filled the moſt important and burthenſome offices of the republic, and ſerved it in armies, and in embaſſies [p].

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[l] Plat. in Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 66. Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. t. ii. p. 354.

[m] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6, p. 758. Laert. lib. 3, § 6.

[n] Chandl. Inſcrip. part 2, p. 73. Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 299.

[o] Iſocr. de Permut. t. ii. p. 410.

[p] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 85. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 590. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 880.

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They form no ſeparate and independent body [q], nor is there any common intereſt between the miniſters of different temples; and in cauſes which perſonally reſpect them they are amenable to the ordinary tribunals.

The nine archons, or ſupreme magiſtrates, watch over the public worſhip, and are always at the head of religious ceremonies. The office of the ſecond, known by the name of king, is to proſeſute for all offences againſt religion, to preſide at the public ſacrifices, and decide all conteſts between the ſacerdotal families, on the ſubject of any vacant prieſthood [r]. The prieſts may indeed direct the ſacrifices of individuals; but if in theſe acts of piety they happen to tranſgreſs the eſtabliſhed laws, they cannot eſcape the vigilance of the magiſtrates. In our time we have ſeen the high prieſt of Ceres puniſhed, by order of government, for having violated theſe laws in articles apparently of no importance [s].

Next to the prieſts, we muſt place thoſe interpreters whoſe profeſſion is held in honour by the ſtate, and who are maintained by it in the prytaneum [t]. They read futurity in the flight of birds, and in the entrails of victims. They accompany

[q] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 72.
[r] Plat. in Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 90. Sigon.
[s] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 880.
[t] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 1084. Scdol. ibid.

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the armies; and on their deciſion not unfrequently depend revolutions in governments, and the operations of a campaign. They are found in every part of Greece, but the moſt celebrated are thoſe of Elis. There, for many centuries paſt, two or three families have tranſmitted from father to ſon the art of predicting events, and of averting or ſuſpending the calamities incident to mortals. Sometimes their anſwers are offered to ſale to the beſt bidders [w].

The ſoothſayers extend their miniſtry ſtill farther, and take conſciences under their guidance. They are conſulted to know whether certain actions are or are not conformable to the divine law [x]. Some I have ſeen carry their fanaticiſm even to gloomy ſeverity, and who, eſteeming themſelves the guardians of the ſacred ordinances of heaven, would have proſecuted their father to death were he guilty of a murder [y].

About two or three centuries ago certain men appeared, who, without having received any authority from the government, ſet themſelves up as interpreters of the will of the gods, and cheriſhed among the people a credulity they either did, or affected to poſſeſs, wandering from country to

[w] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 33. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 232; lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 317; lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 454. Cicer. de Divinat. lib. 1, cap. 41, t. iii. p. 34.

[x] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 4.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 5.

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country, menacing all nations with the wrath of heaven, inventing and teaching new rites to appeaſe it, and rendering men more weak and unhappy than they are, by diſſeminating terror and remorſe. Some owed their high reputation to impoſture, others to ſuperior knowledge and genius. Among the number of theſe were Abaris of Scythia, Empedocles of Agrigentum, and Epimenides of Crete [z].

The impreſſion they left in the minds of men has perpetuated the reign of ſuperſtition. The people imagine they diſcover manifeſt tokens of the will of the gods, at all times, and in all places; in eclipſes, in the noiſe of thunder, in the great phenomena of nature, and in the moſt fortuitous events. Dreams [a], the unexpected ſight of certain animals [b], a convulſive motion of the eyelids [c], a tingling of the ears [d], ſneezing [e], a few words caſually dropt, and a variety of the moſt indifferent natural effects, are become, in their idea, ſo many fortunate or inauſpicious omens. Do you find a ſerpent in your houſe? erect an altar on the very ſpot [f]. Do you ſee a kite hovering in the air? drop inſtantly upon your knees [g]. Is your ima-

[z] Laert. in Epim. lib. 1, § 109. Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. i. p. 357.
[a] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1, v. 63. Sophocl. Electr. v. 426.
[b] Theophr. Charact. cap. 16.
[c] Theocr. Idyl. 3, v. 37.
[d] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4, cap. 17.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 721.
[f] Theophr. ibid. Terent. in Phorm. act. 4, ſcen. 4.
[g] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 501.

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gination disturbed by uneasiness or malady? it is Empusa who has appeared to you; it is a phantom sent by Hecate, which assumes all sorts of forms in order to torment the wretched [h].

In all these circumstances recourse is had to the soothsayers and interpreters [i]; and the remedies they prescribe are as chimerical as the imaginary mischiefs.

Some of these impostors insinuate themselves into opulent families, and avail themselves of the prejudices of weak minds [k]. They pretend to possess infallible secrets to enchain the power of evil spirits. Their promises hold out likewise three advantages extremely alluring to the rich, and which consist in fortifying them against remorse, avenging them of their enemies, and ensuring the continuance of their happiness beyond the grave. The prayers and expiations they practise on these occasions are contained in ancient rituals, which bear the names of Orpheus and Musæus [l].

Women of the dregs of the populace follow the same traffic [m], and go from house to house, among the poorer people, to distribute a kind of initiation, in which they sprinkle water on the initiated, rub

[h] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 295.
[i] Theophr. Charact. cap. 16.
[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2, p. 364.
[l] Id. ibid.
[m] Demosth. de Cor. p. 516. Laert. lib. 10, § 4.

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him with mud and bran, clothe him in the ſkin of an animal, and accompany theſe ceremonies with formularies read out of their ritual, and piercing ſhrieks that ſtrike terror and awe into the multitude.

Enlightened perſons, though exempt in general from theſe weakneſſes, are not the leſs attached to the other ceremonies of religion. After any fortunate event, in time of ſickneſs, or the ſmalleſt danger, at the recollection of a frightful dream, they fail not to offer ſacrifices, and often build chapels in their houſes, which have become ſo numerous, as to induce pious philoſophers to wiſh to ſee them all ſuppreſſed, and that individuals might offer up their vows to heaven only in the temples [n].

But how is it poſſible to reconcile the popular confidence in holy ceremonies with the ideas entertained of the ſovereign of the gods? For it is permitted to conſider Jupiter as an uſurper, who expelled his father from the throne of the univerſe, and is in his turn to be one day driven from it by his ſon. This doctrine, maintained by the ſect of the pretended diſciples of Orpheus [o], has been boldly adopted by Æſchylus, in a tragedy frequently repreſented and applauded under the ſanction of the government [p].

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10, p. 909.

[o] Procl. in Plat. lib. 5, p. 291. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 265.

[p] Æſchyl. in Prom. v. 200, 755 et 947.

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I have already obſerved that, within the laſt century, new gods have been introduced among the Athenians. I ſhould add that, within the ſame period, incredulity has made equal progreſs. No ſooner had the Greeks received the light of philoſophy, than ſome amongſt them, aſtoniſhed at the irregularities and deformities of nature, were not leſs ſo at perceiving it impoſſible to find a ſolution of them, in the ſhapeleſs ſyſtem of religion they had hitherto taken for their guide. Doubts ſucceeded to ignorance, and generated licentious opinions, embraced with avidity by youthful minds[q]: but their authors became objects of the public hatred. The people alleged that they had ſhaken off the yoke of religion only to abandon themſelves to their paſſions with leſs reſtraint[r]; and the government believed itſelf called upon to proceed with ſeverity againſt them. The following are the arguments urged in juſtification of this intolerance.

Public worſhip being preſcribed by one of the fundamental laws[s], and thence cloſely connected with the conſtitution, it is impoſſible to attack religion without endangering that conſtitution. It is the duty therefore of the magiſtrates to maintain it, and to oppoſe all innovations viſibly tending to its

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10, p. 886.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Porpyhr. de Abſtin. lib. 4, p. 380.

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deſtruction. They neither ſubject to cenſure the fabulous hiſtories of the origin of the gods, nor philoſophical opinions concerning their nature, nor even indecent pleaſantries on the actions attributed to them by religion: but they proſecute and puniſh with death the men who ſpeak or write againſt their exiſtence; who contemptuouſly break their ſtatues; or thoſe, in fine, who violate the ſecret of the myſteries avowed and protected by the government.

Thus, while the external acts of piety are left to the regulation of the prieſts, and the magiſtrates poſſeſs the authority neceſſary to maintain religion, poets are left at liberty to frame new genealogies for the gods [t], and philoſophers to diſcuſs the moſt delicate queſtions concerning the eternity of matter, and the formation of the univerſe [u], provided that, in the proſecution of theſe ſubjects, they do but ſteer clear of the two following rocks: firſt, they muſt be careful not to approach too near the doctrine taught in the myſteries; and, ſecondly, not to advance, without modification, principles which would neceſſarily involve the downfall of a worſhip eſtabliſhed from time immemorial. In both theſe caſes they are proſecuted as guilty of impiety.

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[t] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 156. Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 2, p. 491.
[u] Plat. Ariſtot. &c.

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This accuſation is the more formidable to innocence, as it has more than once been employed to ſerve the purpoſes of enmity and revenge, and eaſily enkindles the fury of a people, whoſe zeal is ſtill more cruel than that of their prieſts and magiſtrates.

Every citizen may ſtand forth as an accuſer, and lodge an information againſt the culprit before the ſecond of the archons [x], who carries the cauſe into the court of the heliaſtæ, one of the chief tribunals of Athens. Sometimes the charge is made in the aſſembly of the people [y]. When it reſpects the myſteries of Ceres, the ſenate takes cognizance of it, unleſs the accuſed chooſes to bring it before the Eumolpidæ [z]; for this ſacerdotal family, attached from the earlieſt ages to the temple of that goddeſs, ſtill retains a juriſdiction confined in its exerciſe to the profanation of the myſteries, but which is remarkably ſevere. The proceedings of the Eumolpidæ are regulated by oral laws, of which they are the interpreters, and which deliver over the criminal not only to human puniſhment, but to the vengeance of the gods [a]. But he rarely expoſes himſelf to the rigour of this tribunal.

It has happened that the accuſed has ſaved his

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[x] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 90.
[y] Andoc. de Myſt. p. 2. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200.
[z] Demoſt. in Androt. p. 703. Ulpian. p. 718.
[a] Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 108.

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life by declaring his accomplices; but he is ſtill rendered incapable of participating in ſacrifices, feſtivals, ſpectacles, and the privileges of the other citizens[b]. This mark of infamy is ſometimes accompanied with tremendous ceremonies. Theſe are imprecations which the prieſts of the different temples ſolemnly pronounce by order of the magiſtrates[c]. Turning towards the weſt, and ſhaking their purple robes, they devote to the infernal deities the criminal and his poſterity[d]. From that moment the furies are ſuppoſed to take poſſeſſion of his heart, and never to relax their torments, but with the total extinction of his race.

The ſacerdotal family of the Eumolpidæ diſplay more zeal for the maintenance of the myſteries of Ceres, than is manifeſted by the other prieſts in favour of the eſtabliſhed religion. They have been ſometimes known to proſecute criminals before the courts of juſtice[e]; yet it muſt be admitted, to their commendation, that, on certain occaſions, far from ſeconding the fury of the people, ready to maſſacre on the ſpot individuals accuſed of having profaned the myſteries, they have inſiſted that they ſhould be tried and condemned according to the laws[f]. Among theſe laws, there is one, ſometimes carried into execution, and capable,

[b] Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 115.
[c] Liv. lib. 31, cap. 44.
[d] Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 129.
[e] Andocid. de Myſt. p. 15.
[f] Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 130.

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doubtleſs, of checking the fury and injuſtice of the moſt violent enmities, were it poſſible to reſtrain them. By this law it is ordained that either the accuſer or the accuſed ſhall ſuffer death; the former if he fails in his accuſation, the latter if the crime be proved [g].

It now remains for me to enumerate ſome of the principal caſes in which the Athenian tribunals have pronounced ſentence againſt the crime of impiety, within about a century.

The poet Æſchylus was accuſed of having, in one of his tragedies, revealed the doctrine of the myſteries. His brother Amynias endeavoured to move the compaſſion of the judges, by ſhewing the wounds he had received at the battle of Salamis: this expedient would probably have failed in its effect, had not Æſchylus clearly proved that he had not been initiated into the myſteries. The people were waiting at the door of the tribunal to ſtone him [h].

The philoſopher Diagoras, of Melos, accuſed of revealing the myſteries, and denying the exiſtence of the gods, ſaved himſelf by flight. Rewards were offered to any perſon who ſhould deliver him up alive or dead; and the decree that

[g] Andocid. de Myſt. p. 4.

[h] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 3, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 29. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5, cap. 19. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2, cap. 4, t. i. p. 461.

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branded him with infamy, was engraven on a brazen column [i].

Protagoras, one of the moſt illuſtrious ſophiſts of his time, having begun one of his works with theſe words: "I know not whether there be gods, or whether there be not;" was criminally proſecuted, and obliged to fly. His writings were ſought for in private houſes, and burnt in the forum [k].

Prodicus of Ceos was condemned to drink poiſon, for having aſſerted that men had placed among the number of the gods all objects from which they derived utility; ſuch as the ſun, the moon, fountains, &c [l].

The faction which oppoſed Pericles, not daring openly to attack him, reſolved to effect his ruin by indirect means. He was the friend of Anaxagoras, who admitted one ſupreme intelligence. In virtue of a decree enacted againſt all who deny the exiſtence of the gods, Anaxagoras was dragged to priſon. On his trial he had only a few more ſuffrages in his favour than his accuſer, and for theſe he was indebted to the prayers and tears of Pericles, who ſent him out of Athens. But for the influence of his patron, the moſt religious of phi-

[i] Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 111. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 323. Id. in Av. v. 1073. Schol. ibid.

[k] Laert. lib. 9, cap. 52. Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 2, t. ii. p. 493. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1, cap. 23, t. ii. p. 416.

[l] Cicer. ibid. cap. 42, t. ii. p. 432. Sext. Empir. adv. Phyſ. lib. 9, p. 552. Suid. in Πρόδ.

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loſophers would have been ſtoned to death as an atheiſt [m].

At the time of the Sicilian expedition, and at the moment that Alcibiades was embarking the troops under his command, the ſtatues of Mercury, placed in different quarters of Athens, were found all mutilated in one night [n]. The whole city was inſtantly thrown into conſternation. Views of a more profound nature were imputed to the authors of this impiety, which was regarded as the work of faction. The people immediately aſſembled; and witneſſes appeared who charged Alcibiades with diſfiguring the ſtatues, accuſing him at the ſame time with celebrating the myſteries of Ceres in private houſes [o], with the companions of his debaucheries. The ſoldiers, however, loudly taking the part of their general, his trial was ſuſpended for that time: but ſcarcely had he landed in Sicily, before his enemies reſumed the charge [p], informers multiplied, and the priſons were filled with citizens devoted to deſtruction by injuſtice. Several were put to death, and others eſcaped only by flight [q].

In the courſe of theſe proceedings an incident occurred, that evinces the exceſs to which the

[m] Hermip. et Hieron. ap. Laert. l. 2. § 13. Plut. de Profect. t. ii. p. 84. Euſeb. Præp. Evangel. lib. 14, cap. 14.
[n] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200.
[o] Andoc. de Myſt. p. 3.
[p] Plut. ibid. p. 201.
[q] Andoc. ibid.

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people carry their blind reſentment. One of the witneſſes being interrogated by what means he could diſtinguiſh the perſons in queſtion in the night, anſwered: By the light of the moon. It was proved, however, that there was then no moon; yet this glaring perjury, which filled every honeſt citizen with diſmay [r], only ſerved to increaſe the fury of the people.

Alcibiades, ſummoned before this unworthy tribunal, when on the point of making himſelf maſter of Meſſina, and perhaps of all Sicily, refuſed to make his appearance, and was condemned to die. His eſtates were ſold, and the decree proſcribing him and branding his name with infamy was engraven upon a column [s]. The prieſts of all the temples had orders to pronounce againſt him the moſt horrible imprecations; and all obeyed except the prieſteſs Theano, whoſe anſwer was more worthy of being preſerved on a column than the popular decree: "I was appointed to my office," ſaid ſhe, "to procure for men the bleſſings, and not to pronounce on them the curſes of heaven [t]."

Alcibiades having offered his ſervices to the enemies of his country, reduced the Athenians to the very brink of ruin. When they found it at

[r] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 201.
[s] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.
[t] Plut. ibid. p. 202. Id. Quæſt. Rom. t. ii. p. 275.

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length neceſſary to recall him, the prieſts of Ceres oppoſed his return [u], but were at laſt conſtrained to abſolve him from the imprecations with which they had loaded him; the chief of the ſacred miniſters, however, boldly expreſſed himſelf in the following remarkable terms: "I have not curſed Alcibiades, if he were innocent [x]."

Some time after occurred the proſecution againſt Socrates, in which religion was only the pretext, as I ſhall hereafter demonſtrate.

Nor are the Athenians more indulgent to the crime of ſacrilege. The laws puniſh this offence with death, and deprive the body of the criminal of the rites of ſepulture [y]. This puniſhment, which ſome philoſophers, in other reſpects enlightened, do not conſider as too ſevere [z], is extended by the falſe zeal of the Athenians even to the ſlighteſt tranſgreſſions. Incredible as it may appear, citizens have been condemned to die, ſome for having pulled up a ſhrub within the precincts of a ſacred wood; and others for having killed I know not what bird, conſecrated to Æſculapius [a]. But I ſhall relate a ſtill more dreadful inſtance of ſeverity. A leaf of gold having fallen from the crown of Diana, was picked up by an infant. The child was

[u] Thucyd. lib. 8, cap. 53.
[x] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 210.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 427.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 9, t. ii. p. 854.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5, cap. 17.

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ſo very young that it was neceſſary to make trial of his diſcernment. The leaf of gold, therefore, with ſome dice, ſome play-things, and a large piece of money, were preſented to him; and the child having given the preference to the money, the judges declared this to be a ſufficient proof of his capacity of guilt, and cauſed him to be put to death [b].

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[b] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5, cap. 16. Poll. lib. 9, cap. 6, § 75.

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CHAP. XXII.

Journey to Phocis.—The Pythian Games.—The Temple and Oracle of Delphi.*

I SHALL frequently ſpeak of the feſtivals of Greece; I ſhall often return to thoſe auguſt ſolemnities which unite the various nations of this happy country. As they all have many ſtriking features of reſemblance to each other, I may poſſibly be reproached with retracing the ſame pictures. But what are the narratives of the writers who recount to us the wars of nations, but an uniform ſucceſſion of ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter? and what pleaſure can we derive from deſcriptions that exhibit men only in the convulſions of fury or deſpair? Is it not a more uſeful and more pleaſing taſk to follow them in the hour of peace and liberty; in thoſe combats which exhibit and expand their mental powers and their perſonal graces; in thoſe feſtivals in which taſte diſplays all its reſources, and pleaſure all its charms?

Thoſe moments of happineſs, ſo happily con-

* See the map of Phocis.

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trived to ſuſpend national animoſities [e], and invite individuals to forget their ſorrows; thoſe moments ſo delicious in anticipation from the hope of ſeeing them renewed, and ſo delicious from the impreſſion that perpetuates them in the mind when they are paſt and gone; thoſe rapturous moments I have more than once enjoyed; and, I freely confeſs, have ſhed tears of delight, at the ſight of thouſands of my fellow-creatures, united by the ſame intereſt, abandoning themſelves in concert to the moſt lively joy, and giving free courſe to thoſe affecting emotions, which form the ſublimeſt ſpectacle to a ſoul endowed with ſenſibility. Such is the ſcene preſented by the Pythian games, celebrated every four years, at Delphi in Phocis.

We ſet out from Athens towards the end of the month Elaphebolion, in the third year of the 104th Olympiad *. We repaired to the iſthmus of Corinth, and there embarking at Pag[illegible] entered the gulph of Criſſa, the very day the f[illegible]al commenced †.

Preceded and followed by a great number of light veſſels, we made the harbour of Cirrha, a ſmall town ſituated at the foot of Mount Cirphis.

[e] Iſocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 139.

* The beginning of the year 361 before Chriſt.

† Theſe games were celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad, towards the firſt days of the month Munychion, which in the year I have choſen began on the 14th of April (Corſin. Diſſ. Agoniſt. in Pyth. Id. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 287. Dodwell, de Cycl. p. 719).

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Between this mount and Parnaſſus runs a long valley, in which chariot and horſe races are held. The Pliſtus flows through it amidſt charming meadows [d], which were then decorated with all the various colours of the ſpring. After viſiting the Hippodromus [e], we took one of the paths leading to Delphi *.

The city preſented itſelf to our view in the form of an amphitheatre, on the declivity of the mountain [f]. Already we diſcovered the temple of Apollo, and that prodigious quantity of ſtatues which are ſcattered, in every various direction, through the edifices that embelliſh the town. The gold, with which moſt of them are covered, reflecting the rays of the riſing ſun, ſhone with a refulgence that was viſible at a great diſtance [g]. At the ſame time were ſeen, ſlowly advancing in the plain and over the hills, proceſſions compoſed of boys and girls, which ſeemed to diſpute with each other the palm of magnificence and beauty. From the mountain heights, and from the ſea coaſts, an immenſe multitude were all hurrying towards Delphi; and the ſerenity of the day, joined to the mildneſs of the air in this climate, added new

[d] Pind. Pyth. od. 10, v. 23. Argum. Pyth. p. 163. Pauſan. lib. 10, p. 817.
[e] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 37, p. 893.
* See the plan of Delphi and its environs.
[f] Strab. lib. 9, p. 418.
[g] Juſtin. lib. 24, cap. 7.

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charms to the pleaſing impreſſions made on our ſenſes from every quarter.

Parnaſſus is a chain of mountains ſtretching towards the north, and on the ſouthern ſide terminating in two points, under which ſtands the city of Delphi, which is only ſixteen ſtadia in circumference [h] *. It is not defended by walls, but by precipices, which environ it on three ſides [i]. It is placed under the protection of Apollo; and, with the worſhip of this god, is united that of ſome other deities, who are termed the aſſociates of his throne. Theſe are Latona, Diana, and Minerva-Providens; their temples are at the entrance of the city.

We ſtopped for a moment at that of Minerva, and ſaw, in the inſide, a golden buckler preſented by Crœſus, king of Lydia; and without, a large brazen ſtatue conſecrated by the citizens of Marſeilles, in Gaul, in commemoration of advantages gained by them over the Carthaginians [k]. After paſſing near the gymnaſium, we found ourſelves on the brink of the Caſtalian fountain, the ſacred waters of which are uſed to purify both the miniſters of the altars, and the votaries who come to conſult the oracle [l]. From thence we aſcended

[h] Strab. lib. 9, p. 418.
* A little more than a mile and three quarters.
[i] Juſtin. lib. 24, cap. 6.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 10, p. 817.
[l] Euripid. in Ion. v. 94. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 2, p. 107.

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to a temple, situated in the upper part of the town [m], which is surrounded by a vast enclosure, filled with precious offerings made to the divinity.

Nations and kings who receive favourable answers, gain victories, or are delivered from impending misfortunes, think it incumbent on them to erect, at this place, monuments of their gratitude. Individuals crowned at the public games of Greece, and all persons who have been eminently useful to their country, or rendered it illustrious by their genius or abilities, have monuments erected here to their honour. Here the traveller finds himself surrounded by a people of heroes, and reminded of the most remarkable events of history. Here the art of sculpture shines with greater splendour than in any other part of Greece.

As we were about to begin our examination of this immense collection of sacred riches, a Delphian, named Cleon, offered his service to us as a guide. He was one of those interpreters of the temple, whose only occupation is to satisfy the eager curiosity of strangers [n]. But as Cleon, by continually expatiating on the most unimportant details, exhausted more than once his stock of knowledge and our patience, I shall abridge his

[m] Pausan. lib. 10, p. 818.

[n] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 395. Lucian. in Philopseud. § 4, t. iii. p. 32. Id. in Calumn. p. 132.

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recital, and frequently expunge the marvellous with which he delighted to embelliſh his narrations.

The firſt object we ſaw on entering the enclo-ſure [q] was a ſuperb brazen bull. This bull, ſaid Cleon, was ſent by the inhabitants of Corcyra, and is the work of Theopropus of Ægina. The nine ſtatues you next ſee were preſented by the Tegeatæ, after they had vanquiſhed the Lacedæmonians; among them you diſcover Apollo, Victory, and the ancient heroes of Tegea. Thoſe oppoſite to them were given by the Lacedæmonians, after Lyſander had defeated the Athenian fleet near Epheſus. The ſeven firſt repreſent Caſtor and Pollux, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, and Lyſander, who is receiving a crown from the hand of Neptune; the eighth is for Abas, who was ſoothſayer in the army of Lyſander; and the ninth for Hermon, pilot of the galley commanded by the general. Lyſander having ſome time after gained a ſecond naval victory over the Athenians, at Ægos Potamos, the Lacedæmonians immediately ſent to Delphi the ſtatues of the principal officers of their army, and of the chiefs of the allied troops. They are twenty-eight in number; you ſee them behind thoſe of which I have juſt ſpoken [r].

That horſe in braſs is a preſent of the Argives.

[q] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 9, p. 818.
[r] Id. ibid. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 443.

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The inſcription on the pedeſtal informs you that the ſtatues which ſurround it are the produce of the tenth part of the ſpoils taken from the Perſians, by the Athenians, in the plains of Marathon. They are thirteen in number, and all by the hand of Phidias. Obſerve with what ſublimity he has exhibited to us Apollo, Minerva, Theſeus, Codrus, and thoſe ancient Athenians who merited the honour of giving their names to the tribes of Athens. Miltiades, who gained the battle, ſhines conſpicuous amidſt theſe gods and heroes [q].

The nations that make ſuch offerings, frequently add to the images of their generals thoſe of their kings, and individuals who have gained to themſelves immortal glory. You have another example of this in that group of twenty-five or thirty ſtatues, conſecrated by the Argives at different periods, and for different victories. This is the ſtatue of Danaus, the moſt powerful of the kings of Argos; this of Hypermneſtra his daughter; that other, of his ſon-in-law Lynceus. Here are the principal chiefs who followed Adraſtus, king of Argos, in the firſt Theban war; there the leaders who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſecond: here you ſee Diomedes, Sthenelus, and Amphiaraus in his car, with his kinſman Baton, who is holding the reins [r].

[q] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 10, p. 821.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 822.

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It is impoſſible to proceed a ſingle ſtep, without being ſtopped by maſter-pieces of art. Thoſe horſes in braſs, thoſe dejected captives, are the work of Ageladas of Argos, and a preſent from the people of Tarentum in Italy. This figure repreſents Triopas, the founder of the Cnidians in Caria; thoſe ſtatues of Latona, Apollo, and Diana, ſhooting their arrows againſt Tityus, are an offering of the ſame people.

This portico, in which ſo many beaks of ſhips and brazen bucklers are ſuſpended, was built by the Athenians [s]. There is the rock on which an ancient ſibyl, named Herophila, is ſaid to have pronounced her oracles [t]. That ſtatue with a breaſt-plate and coat of mail was ſent by the people of Andros, and repreſents their founder Andreus. The Phocians have conſecrated this Apollo, as well as this Minerva, and that Diana; the people of Pharſalos in Theſſaly, that equeſtrian ſtatue of Achilles; the Macedonians, this Apollo who is holding a hind; the Cyreneans, that car in which Jupiter appears with all the majeſty of the ſovereign of the gods [u]; and laſtly, the conquerors at Salamis, that ſtatue twelve cubits high *, holding an ornament of a ſhip, which you ſee near the

[s] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 11, p. 825.
[t] Id. cap. 12, p. 825.
[u] Id. cap. 13, p. 829.
* 17 French feet (or 18 Engliſh).

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gilded ſtatue of Alexander the Firſt, king of Macedon [x].

Among this prodigious number of monuments have been erected ſeveral ſmall edifices, to which nations and individuals have tranſmitted conſiderable ſums, either as offerings to the god, or by way of depoſiting them in a place of ſafety. When they are only intended as a depoſit, care is taken to inſcribe the name of the perſons to whom the treaſure belongs, that they may have recourſe to it in caſe of need [y].

We viſited the treaſuries of the Athenians, the Thebans, the Cnidians, the Syracuſans, &c. [z] and were convinced that report had not exaggerated when it was affirmed that we ſhould find more gold and ſilver at Delphi than is contained probably in all the reſt of Greece.

In the treaſury of the Sicyonians, among other ſingularities, we ſaw a golden book preſented by a woman named Ariſtomache, who had won the prize of poetry at the Iſthmian games [a]. They ſhewed us in that of the Siphnians a great quantity of gold, the produce of the mines they worked formerly in their iſland [b]; and in that of the inhabitants of Acanthus ſome iron obeliſks, preſented

[x] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 121.
[y] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 349.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 11, p. 823.
[a] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 675.
[b] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 11, p. 823.

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by Rhodope the courtezan [c]. Is it poſſible, exclaimed I, that ſuch an offering could have been acceptable to Apollo? Stranger, ſaid a Greek, whom I did not know, to me, Were the hands that raiſed theſe trophies more pure? You have juſt read on the gate of the aſylum in which we now are: THE INHABITANTS OF ACANTHUS VANQUISHERS OF THE ATHENIANS [d]; and elſewhere, THE ATHENIANS VANQUISHERS OF THE CORINTHIANS; THE PHOCIANS OF THE THESSALIANS; THE ORNEATÆ OF THE SICYONIANS, &c. Theſe inſcriptions were written with the blood of a million of Greeks. The god is ſurrounded only with monuments of our folly and madneſs [e]; and you are aſtoniſhed that his prieſts ſhould accept the offering of a courtezan!

The richeſt of all the treaſuries is the Corinthian. In that is preſerved the greater part of the offerings made by different princes to the temple of Apollo. We there found the ſumptuous preſents of Gyges king of Lydia, among which the moſt remarkable are ſix large crateræ of gold *, of the weight of thirty talents [f] †.

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[c] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 400.

[d] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 433.

[e] Plut. de Pyth. ut ſuprà.

* The crateræ were large vaſes in the ſhape of cups, in which the ancients mixed their wine and water.

[f] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 14.

† See, as well reſpecting this article as the following, the table of Attic weights, and the note which is at the end of the volume.

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The liberality of this prince, ſaid Cleon to us, was entirely eclipſed by the munificence of Cræſus, one of his ſucceſſors, who, on conſulting the oracle, was ſo well ſatisfied with the anſwer he received, that he ſent to Delphi, 1ſt, one hundred and ſeventeen ſemi-plinths * of gold, a palm thick; moſt of them ſix palms in length, and three broad, each weighing two talents, except four, which weighed only a talent and a half. You will ſee them in the temple. By the manner in which they were diſpoſed, they ſerved as a baſe for a lion of the ſame metal, which fell down at the time the temple was burnt, which happened a few years after. You have it before your eyes. It then weighed ten talents; but, ſince it has been damaged by the fire, it now weighs no more than ſix and a half [g].

2dly, Two large crateræ, the one of gold, weighing eight talents and forty-two minæ; the other of ſilver, containing ſix hundred amphoræ. You have ſeen the firſt in the treaſury of the Clazomenians; the ſecond you will ſee in the veſtibule of the temple [h].

3dly, Four ſilver vaſes in the ſhape of barrels,

* By plinth is generally underſtood an architectural ornament, conſiſting of a member, in the form of a ſmall ſquare tablet.

[g] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 50. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 452.

[h] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 51.

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and of a very conſiderable ſize [i]. You ſee all the four in this place [k].

4thly, Two large ewers, one of gold, the other of ſilver [l].

5thly, A golden ſtatue, repreſenting, it is ſaid, the woman who made the bread of this prince. This ſtatue is three cubits high, and weighs eight talents [m].

6thly, To theſe offerings Crœſus added a number of ſilver ingots, the necklaces and girdles of his wife, and other not leſs valuable preſents.

Cleon next ſhewed us a golden cratera ſent by the city of Rome, in Italy, to Delphi [n]; and afterwards the necklace of Helen [o]. We enumerated likewiſe, in the temple, and in the different treaſuries, three hundred and ſixty phials or cups of gold, each weighing two minæ [p] *.

All theſe treaſures, together with thoſe I have not mentioned, amount to a prodigious ſum, of which ſome idea may be formed from the following fact. Some time after our journey to Delphi, the Phocians ſeized on the temple, and the gold

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[i] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 459.
[k] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 51.
[l] Id. ibid.
[m] Id. ibid. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 401.
[n] Liv. lib. 5, cap. 28. Plut. in Camill. t. i. p. 133.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 458.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 452.
* 2 pounds 3 ounces.

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and silver which they melted into bullion were estimated at upwards of ten thousand talents [q] *.

On coming out of the Corinthian treasury, we continued to run over the monuments of the sacred precinct. Here, said Cleon, is a group that merits your attention. Observe with what rage Apollo and Hercules are disputing for a tripod; and with what earnestness Latona and Diana endeavour to restrain the former, and Minerva the latter [r]. These five statues, executed by three artists of Corinth, were consecrated in this place by the Phocians [s]. This tripod, ornamented with gold, and supported by a brazen dragon, was offered by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa [t]. The Tarentines of Italy, after some advantages gained over their enemies, sent these equestrian, and those other pedestrian statues. They represent the principal chieftains of the victors and the vanquished [u]. The brazen wolf which you see near the principal altar [x], is the gift of the inhabitants of Delphi, and that palm-tree, and this Minerva, of the same metal, the offering of the Athe-

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[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 453.

* More than fifty-four millions of livres (or above two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling).

[r] Pausan. lib. 10, cap. 13, p. 830.

[s] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 27.

[t] Pausan. lib. 10, cap. 13, p. 830.

[u] Pausan. ibid.

[x] Id. ibid. cap. 14, p. 832.

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nians. The Minerva formerly was gilt, as well as the fruit of the palm-tree; but, about the time of the expedition into Sicily, ſome ravens gave a preſage of the defeat of the Athenians by plucking off the fruit from the tree, and piercing the buckler of the goddeſs [y].

As we ſeemed to entertain ſome doubt reſpecting this fact, to corroborate it, Cleon added: Why, was not this column, which ſtood near the ſtatue of Hiero, king of Syracuſe, thrown down the very day of the death of that prince? Did not the eyes fall out from the ſtatue of that Spartan, a few days before he periſhed at the battle of Leuctra [z]? and, about the ſame time, did not the two golden ſtars which Lyſander had dedicated in honour of Caſtor and Pollux diſappear [a]?

Theſe examples had ſuch an effect upon us, that, to avoid being overwhelmed with others, we reſolved to leave Cleon in peaceable poſſeſſion of his fables. Mark well, continued he, the marble that covers the ground on which you tread. This is the central point of the whole earth [b]; the point that is equidiſtant from the places where the ſun riſes, and thoſe where he ſets. It is ſaid that, to diſcover this, Jupiter diſpatched two eagles from

[y] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 531. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 15, p. 834.
[z] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397.
[a] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, cap. 34, t. iii. p. 29.
[b] Æſchyl. in Choeph. v. 1036. Eurip. in Oreſt. v. 330; in Phœniſſ. v. 244; in Ion. v. 223. Plat. de Rep. lib. 4, t. ii. p. 427.

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thoſe two extremities of the world, which met together preciſely at this ſpot [c].

Cleon did not ſpare us a ſingle inſcription; but principally directed our attention to the oracles pronounced by the prieſteſs, which are ſtudiouſly expoſed to the eyes of the public [d]; taking care to lay particular ſtreſs on ſuch as had been juſtified by the event.

Among the offerings of the kings of Lydia, I forgot to ſpeak of a large ſilver cratera, ſent by Alyattes, the baſe of which ſtill excites the admiration of the Greeks [e], perhaps from its proving the recency of the arts in Greece. This baſe is of iron, in the form of a tower, and wider at the bottom than at top; it is of perforated work, and ſeveral animals at play are ſeen through the foliage with which it is ornamented. The different parts of it are not joined by nails; it is one of the firſt works in which ſolder was uſed. It is attributed to Glaucus of Chios, who lived near two centuries ago, and firſt diſcovered the ſecret of ſoldering iron.

Our attention was attracted by an infinity of other monuments. We had ſeen the ſtatue of Gorgias the rhetorician [f], and the innumerable

[c] Pauſan. lib. 10, p. 835. Pindar. Pyth. 4, v. 6. Schol. ibid. Strab. lib. 9, p. 419. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 409.

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 428. Vand. de Orac. p. 138 et 175.

[e] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 25. Pauſan. lib. 10, p. 834. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 436. Heſegand. ap. Athen. lib. 5, p. 210.

[f] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 11, cap. 15, p. 505. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 32, t. i. p. 310. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 18, p. 842. Valer. Max. lib. 8, cap. 15, in Extern.

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ſtatues of the victors in the different games of Greece. But if the eye be ſtruck with the magnificence of ſuch a quantity of offerings collected together at Delphi, it is not leſs aſtoniſhed at the excellence of their workmanſhip [g]; for almoſt all of them have been conſecrated in the laſt or preſent century, and were in general executed by the ableſt ſculptors who have appeared in both ages.

From the ſacred precinct we entered the temple which was built about an hundred and fifty years ago [h] *, the ancient one having been deſtroyed by fire. It was rebuilt by order of the Amphictyons †, and the architect, Spintharus of Corinth, undertook to finiſh it for the ſum of three hundred talents ‡. Three fourths of that ſum were raiſed by a tax on the different cities of Greece, and the other fourth by the inhabitants of Delphi, who, in order to furniſh their contingent, made a collection of pious donations even in the remoteſt countries. An Athenian family added likewiſe, at its own expence, ſeveral embelliſhments not in the original plan [i].

[g] Strab. lib. 9, p. 419.

[h] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 150.

* Towards the year 513 before J. C.

† Theſe were deputies from different cities, who aſſembled every year at Delphi, and had the inſpection of the temple. I ſhall ſpeak of them hereafter.

‡ 1,600,000 livres (66,666l. 13s. 4d.); but the talent being of greater value at that time than afterwards, ſomething may be added to this eſtimation.

[i] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 180; lib. 5, cap. 62. Pauſan. lib. 10, p. 811.

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The edifice is built of a very beautiful ſtone, but the frontiſpiece is of Parian marble. On the pediment, two Athenian ſculptors have repreſented Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muſes, Bacchus, and other divinities [k]. From the capitals of the columns are ſuſpended ſeveral kinds of gilded armour, and eſpecially bucklers offered by the Athenians in memory of the battle of Marathon [l].

The veſtibule is decorated with paintings which repreſent the battle of the giants and the gods, the combat between Hercules and the hydra, and that of Bellerophon with the chimæra [m]. We ſee there likewiſe a number of altars [n], a buſt of Homer [o], ſome veſſels of luſtral water [p], and other large veſſels for mixing the wine and water made uſe of in libations [q]. On the wall are inſcribed ſeveral ſhort ſentences, ſome of which are attributed to the ſeven Grecian ſages. They contain moral maxims, and have the appearance of admonitions given by the gods to all who come to worſhip them [r]. The divinity himſelf ſeems to ſay, KNOW THYSELF.

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[k] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 19, p. 842.
[l] Id. ibid. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 446.
[m] Eurip. in Ion. v. 190.
[n] Id. ibid. v. 1186.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 19, p. 857.
[p] Heliod. Æthiop.
[q] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 51.
[r] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 124 et 129. Id. in Charm. p. 164. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 796. Pauſ. lib. 10, p. 857. Plin. lib. 7, cap. 32, p. 393.

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TOO MUCH OF NOTHING. MISFORTUNE CLOSELY PURSUES THEE.

A word of two letters, placed over the gate, has given occaſion to various explanations; but the moſt ſkilful interpreters diſcover in it a profound meaning. Its real ſignification is, THOU ART; a confeſſion of the nothingneſs of man, and a homage worthy of the divinity, to whom alone appertains exiſtence [s].

In the ſame place we read, on a tablet ſuſpended on the wall, theſe words, inſcribed in large characters: LET NO ONE APPROACH THESE PLACES, BUT WITH PURE HANDS [t].

I ſhall not ſtop to deſcribe the interior riches of the temple; they may be judged of from thoſe of the outſide. I ſhall only obſerve, that we there ſee a coloſſal ſtatue of Apollo, in braſs, conſecrated by the Amphictyons [u]; and that, amid the ſtatues of the gods, the ſeat in which Pindar ſang the hymns he had compoſed in honour of Apollo is preſerved and ſhewn to thoſe who viſit the temple [x]. Such circumſtances I particularly notice, to ſhew how highly genius is honoured by the Greeks.

Within the ſanctuary is a ſtatue of Apollo, in gold [y], and that ancient oracle, the anſwers of

[s] Plut. de EI. t. ii. p. 384.
[t] Lucian. de Sacrif. § 13, t. i. p. 536. Id. in Hermot. § 11, t. i. p. 750.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 433.
[x] Pauſan. lib. 19, cap. 24, p. 858.
[y] Id. ibid.

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which have so often decided on the fate of empires. The discovery of this was made by accident. Some goats straying among the rocks of Mount Parnassus, and approaching a fissure in the earth that emitted unwholesome exhalations, are said to have been suddenly affected with extraordinary and convulsive motions [z]. The shepherds and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, flocking to see this prodigy, breathed the same vapour, experienced the same effects, and, in their delirium, pronounced broken and unconnected phrases. These words were instantly taken for predictions, and the vapour of the cavern was supposed to be a divine breath which unveiled the secrets of futurity [a] *.

Several ministers are employed in the temple. The first who presents himself to the eyes of strangers, is a young man frequently educated from his earliest years close to the very altar, and always obliged to live in the most scrupulous continence. It is his office to attend to the cleanliness, as well as decoration, of the holy places [b]. As soon as day appears, he repairs, followed by the persons who work under his orders, to a little sacred wood, to gather branches of laurel, and form them into

[z] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 433. Pausan. ib. cap. 5, p. 809. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 427.

[a] Plin. lib. 2, cap. 93, p. 116.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[b] Eurip. in Ion. v. 95, &c.

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crowns, which he affixes to the gates and walls, and hangs round the altars and the tripod whence the Pythia pronounces her oracles; he draws water from the fountain Caſtalia to fill the vaſes in the veſtibule, and to ſprinkle within the temple; he next takes his bow and quiver to chaſe away the birds that perch upon the roof of the edifice, or on the ſtatues which are within the ſacred precinct.

The functions of the prophets are of a more exalted kind; they ſtation themſelves near the Pythia[c], collect, arrange, and interpret her anſwers, ſometimes committing them to other miniſters, who put them into verſe[d].

Thoſe who are called ſacred perſons participate in the functions of the prophets, and are five in number. This prieſthood is perpetual in their family, which pretends to deduce its origin from Deucalion[e]. Women of an advanced age are employed to take care that the ſacred fire is never extinguiſhed[f], which they are obliged to keep alive with the wood of the fir-tree[g]. A number of ſacrificers, augurs, ſoothſayers, and ſubordinate officers, add majeſty and ſolemnity to the worſhip of the god, and ſcarcely ſuffice to gratify the eager curioſity of ſtrangers who reſort to Delphi from all parts of the world.

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[c] Van Dale de Orac. p. 104. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 186.

[d] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 407. Strab. lib. 9. p. 419.

[e] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 292; et de Orac. Def. p. 438.

[f] Æſchyl. in Choeph. v. 1037. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 66.

[g] Plut. de EI. t. ii. p. 385.

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Beſides the ſacrifices offered as thankſgivings, in expiation of faults, or to implore the protection of the divinity, there are others, which muſt precede the anſwer of the oracle, and are themſelves preceded by various ceremonies.

While we were liſtening to this detail, we ſaw, at the foot of the hill, and in what is called the ſacred road, a great number of carriages filled with men, women, and children [h], who as ſoon as they alighted formed their ranks, and advanced towards the temple, ſinging hymns. They had come from Peloponneſus to offer to the god the homage of the different ſtates that inhabit that country. The Theoria, or proceſſion of the Athenians, ſoon after followed them, and was ſucceeded by deputations from ſeveral other cities, among which we diſtinguiſhed that of the iſle of Chios, compoſed of one hundred boys [i].

In my account of the voyage I made to Delos, I ſhall ſpeak more at length of theſe deputations, of their magnificence, the admiration they excite, and the luſtre they add to the feſtivals which they are ſent to celebrate. Thoſe who now came to Delphi, ranged themſelves around the temple, preſented their offerings, and ſang hymns, accompanied with dances, in honour of Apollo. The chorus of the Athenians was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the har-

[h] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 304.
[i] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 27.

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mony of their voices, and their ſuperior knowledge and ſkill [k].

Every inſtant diſcloſed new and intereſting ſcenes. But how is it poſſible to deſcribe them; or repreſent thoſe various motions, thoſe concerts, thoſe ſhouts, thoſe auguſt ceremonies, that tumultuous joy, and thoſe rapidly changing ſpectacles, which, by their contraſts, gave to each other new charms! We were hurried along to the theatre [l], where ſeveral competitors in poetry and muſic were to diſpute the prize. The Amphictyons preſided at theſe competitions; for they, at various times, have inſtituted the different games celebrated at Delphi [m]. They ſuperintend them, preſerve order, and decree the laurel to the victor [n].

Several poets entered the liſts. The ſubject of the prize is a hymn to Apollo [o], which the author himſelf ſings, accompanied with his cithara. Harmony of voice, and the art of ſuſtaining it by melodious ſounds, have ſuch influence on the opinion of the judges and hearers, that, for want of theſe two advantages, Heſiod was formerly excluded from the competition; whilſt other authors, by uniting them in an eminent degree, have obtained

[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 765.
[l] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 2, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 638. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 31, p. 877.
[m] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 7, p. 813. Strab. lib. 9, p. 421.
[n] Pind. Pyth. 4, v. 118. Schol. ibid.
[o] Strab. lib. 9, p. 421.

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the prize, though they appeared with works not of their own composition [p]. The poems we heard possessed great beauties, and that which received the crown was so violently applauded, that the heralds were under the necessity of commanding silence. We then saw the players on the flute advance.

The subject usually proposed is the combat of Apollo with the serpent Python, and it is an indispensable requisite in the composition, that the five leading circumstances of the conflict may be distinguished [q]. The first part is but a prelude; the action commences in the second; and becomes animated and terminates in the third: in the fourth are heard the shouts of victory; and in the fifth, the hissings of the monster before he expires [r]. No sooner had the Amphictyons adjudged the prize, than they repaired to the stadium, where the foot races were ready to begin. A crown was proposed for those who should run the prescribed distance soonest; another for those who should run it twice; and a third for those who should run it twelve times without stopping [s]. These are called the single, the double, and the long course. To these different exercises succeeded the race for

[p] Pausan. lib. 10, cap. 7, p. 813.

[q] Strab. lib. 9, p. 421. Argum. in Pyth. Pind. p. 163. Hesych. in Ἀιαπ.

[r] Strab. ibid. Poll. lib. 4, cap. 10, § 84.

[s] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 308; t. ix. p. 386.

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children [t], that of men armed, wreſtling, boxing [u], and ſeveral of thoſe combats which I ſhall more particularly deſcribe when I come to ſpeak of the Olympic games.

Formerly the victors were rewarded with a ſum of money [x]: but ſince it has been determined to confer higher honours on them, they are preſented only with a crown of laurel.

We ſupped with the Theori, or deputies of the Athenians. Some of them propoſed to conſult the oracle, and the next day they were to receive anſwers to their queſtions. For the oracle can be approached only on certain days of the year, and the pythia aſcends the tripod but once in a month [y]. We determined likewiſe to interrogate it in our turn, from a ſimple motive of curioſity, and without the ſmalleſt confidence in the anſwers we might receive.

During the whole night, the youth of Delphi, diſperſed about the ſtreets, ſang verſes in honour of the perſons who had been crowned [z]. The people made the air ring with long and tumultuous applauſes, and all nature ſeemed to participate in the triumph of the victors. The numberleſs echoes in the environs of Parnaſſus, ſud-

[t] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 7, p. 814.
[u] Pind. Nem. od. 6, v. 60. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 4, p. 159.
[x] Pauſan. ibid.
[y] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 292.
[z] Pind. Nem. od. 6, v. 66. Schol. ibid.

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denly awakened by the ſound of trumpets, reſounded their notes through the caverns and the valleys [a], and repeated to each other and bore afar the clamorous expreſſions of the public joy.

The following day we repaired to the temple, gave in our queſtions in writing [b], and waited till our turn of approaching the pythia was decided by lot [c]. No ſooner had we received the proper notice, than we ſaw her paſs through the temple [d], accompanied by ſome prophets, bards, and ſacred perſons, who entered with her into the ſanctuary. Melancholy and dejected, ſhe ſeemed to go with reluctance, like a victim dragged to the altar. She chewed laurel [e], and, as ſhe paſſed, threw into the ſacred fire ſome leaves of it mixed with barley-meal [f]: ſhe wore a wreath of it on her head, and her brow was bound with a fillet [g].

Formerly there was only one pythia at Delphi; but ſince the oracle has become more frequented, three have been appointed [h]; and ſince a Theſſalian violated one of the prieſteſſes, it was decreed that they ſhould be more than fifty years of age [i].

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[a] Juſtin. lib. 24, cap. 6.
[b] Ariſtoph. Schol. in Plut. v. 39. Van Dale de Orac. p. 116.
[c] Eurip. in Ion. v. 419. Æſchyl. in Eum. v. 32.
[d] Id. ibid. v. 42.
[e] Lucian. in Bis Accuſ. § 1, t. ii. p. 792.
[f] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397. Id. de ΕΙ. p. 385.
[g] Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 5, p. 143 et 170.
[h] Plut. de Orac. Def. p. 414.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 428.

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They officiate by turns, and are chosen from among the lowest classes of the inhabitants of Delphi [k]. In general they are poor girls destitute of education and experience, of unexceptionable morals, and a very limited understanding [l]. They must be simply dressed, avoid the use of perfumes [m], and pass their lives in the practice of religious exercises.

A number of strangers were assembled to consult the oracle. The temple was surrounded by victims, bleeding beneath the sacred knife, and mingling their cries with the voices of the singers. The impatient desire of prying into futurity was marked on every countenance, with all that hope and fear inseparable from suspense.

One of the priests undertook to prepare us. After being thoroughly purified with the consecrated water, we offered a bull and a she-goat. To indicate that this sacrifice is acceptable to the gods, it is necessary that the bull should readily eat the flour presented to him, and that the limbs of the goat should palpitate for some moments after cold water is thrown on them [n]. No reason was given us for these ceremonies; but the more inexplicable they are, the more do they inspire

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[k] Eurip. in Ion. v. 92.
[l] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 405.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 397.
[n] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 435 et 437.

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veneration. The event having proved the purity of our intentions, we returned into the temple, with our heads crowned with laurel, and bearing in our hands a branch encircled with a narrow fillet of white wool [o]. With this ſymbol the ſuppliants approach the altars.

We were next conducted into a chapel, where, at particular times, which, it is ſaid, can neither be foreſeen nor regulated by the prieſts, an extremely agreeable odour is perceived [p]. Care is always taken to point out this prodigy to ſtrangers.

Preſently after the prieſt came for us, and led us into the ſanctuary, a deep cavern [q], the walls of which are ornamented with a variety of votive offerings. He had juſt taken down from them a fillet embroidered with crowns and victories [r]. At firſt we could ſcarcely diſcern the objects around us; for the incenſe and other perfumes burning there, filled the place with a thick ſmoke [s]. Towards the middle is an aperture from whence iſſues the prophetic exhalation, the approach to which is by a gentle deſcent [t]; but it is impoſſible to ſee it, for it is covered with a tripod ſo ſurrounded with chaplets and branches of laurel [u], that the

[o] Van Dale de Orac. p. 114.
[p] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 437.
[q] Strab. lib. 9, p. 419.
[r] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 239.
[s] Lucian. in Jov. Trag. t. ii. p. 675.
[t] Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 5, v. 159.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 39. Schol. ibid.

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vapour is prevented from diſperſing itſelf in the cavern.

The pythia, worn out with fatigue, refuſing to anſwer our queſtions, the prieſts who ſurrounded her had recourſe to menaces and even violence. Yielding at length to their perſuaſions, ſhe ſeated herſelf on the tripod, after drinking of ſome water which flows in the ſanctuary, and which poſſeſſes, as it is ſaid, the virtue of diſcloſing futurity [x].

The boldeſt colours would ſcarcely ſuffice to paint the convulſions with which ſhe was ſoon after ſeized. We ſaw her boſom heave, and her countenance alternately pale and glowing. All her limbs were agitated with involuntary motions [y]: but ſhe uttered only plaintive cries and deep groans. At length, with eyes ſparkling, foaming mouth, and hair erect, unable either to ſupport the vapour that overpowered her, or eſcape from the tripod on which ſhe was held down by the prieſts, ſhe tore the fillet from her head, and, amidſt the moſt dreadful howlings, pronounced a few words, which were eagerly collected by the prieſts. They immediately arranged them in a proper order, and delivered them to us in writing. I had aſked whether I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to ſurvive my friend; and Philotas, unknown to me, had pro-

[x] Pauſan. lib. 10, p. 859. Lucian. in Bis Accuſ. t. ii. p. 792.

[y] Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 5, v. 170. Lucian. in Jov. Tragic. t. ii. p. 676, § 30. Van Dale de Orac. p. 154.

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poſed the ſame queſtion. The anſwers were obſcure and equivocal, and we tore them into pieces the moment we got out of the temple.

Our hearts were now filled with pity and indignation; and we ſeverely reproached ourſelves with the lamentable condition to which we had reduced the unhappy prieſteſs. The functions ſhe exerciſes are cruel, and have already coſt many of theſe women their lives [z]. The prieſts know this; yet have we ſeen them multiply and calmly contemplate the torments under which ſhe was ſinking. It is ſtill more painful to reflect that they are rendered thus callous to the feelings of humanity by ſordid intereſt. But for the furious ravings of the pythia ſhe would be leſs conſulted, and conſequently the liberalities of the people would be leſs abundant; for an anſwer is not to be obtained gratuitouſly from the god. Such as render him only a ſimple homage, muſt, at leaſt, depoſit cakes and other offerings [a] on the altar; they who wiſh to conſult the oracle, are obliged to ſacrifice animals. Nay, ſome there are who do not bluſh on theſe occaſions to diſplay the greateſt pomp. As a portion of the victims, whether they be rejected or received, always falls to the ſhare of the miniſters of the temple, the leaſt irregularity they diſcover

[z] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 438. Lucan. Pharſ. lib. 5. v. 116.

[a] Eurip. in Ion. v. 226.

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ſuffices to exclude them; and mercenary ſooth-ſayers have been known, after examining the entrails of an animal, to carry off whole pieces of it, and order the ſacrifice to be recommenced [b].

Yet this tribute, impoſed on the credulity of mankind during the whole year, and ſeverely exacted by the prieſts whoſe principal revenue it forms [c], is infinitely leſs dangerous than the influence of their anſwers on the public affairs of Greece and of the world. Who but muſt weep over the miſeries of humanity, when he reflects, that, beſides the pretended prodigies of which the inhabitants of Delphi make a conſtant traffic [d], the anſwers of the pythia are to be obtained by money [e], and that thus a ſingle word, dictated by corrupt prieſts, and uttered by a ſenſeleſs girl, ſuffices to excite bloody wars [f], and ſpread deſolation through a whole kingdom!

The oracle requires of its votaries to render to the gods the honours that are due to them, but preſcribes no rule in that reſpect; and when it is aſked which is the beſt form of worſhip, uniformly anſwers: "Conform to the received religion of your

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[b] Euphr. ap. Athen. lib. 9, cap. 6, p. 380. Van Dale de Orac. cap. 5, p. 106.

[c] Lucian. in Phalar. 2, § 8, t. ii. p. 204.

[d] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 532.

[e] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 66. Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 854. Pauſan. lib. 3, p. 213. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1, cap. 16.

[f] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 53.

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country[g]." It requires men alſo to reſpect the temples; and denounces heavy puniſhments againſt all who violate them, or ſeize on the property appertaining to them: of this I ſhall give an example.

The plain which extends from Mount Parnaſſus to the ſea, belonged, about two centuries ago, to the inhabitants of Cirrha; and the manner in which they were deprived of it ſufficiently proves the nature of the vengeance here exerciſed againſt acts of ſacrilege. Theſe people were reproached with levying contributions on the Greeks who anded on their territory in their way to Delphi; they were accuſed likewiſe of having made inroads into the lands belonging to the temple[h]. The oracle, conſulted by the Amphictyons reſpecting the ſpecies of puniſhment merited by the guilty perſons, ordered them to be purſued night and day, their country to be ravaged, and themſelves reduced to ſervitude. Several ſtates inſtantly flew to arms. The city was razed, and the harbour deſtroyed: the inhabitants were either put to death or loaded with chains; and their rich fields being conſecrated to the temple of Delphi, an oath was taken never to cultivate them, nor build houſes on them, with the following dreadful imprecation: "May the individuals, and the nations who ſhall dare to infringe this oath, be accurſed in the ſight

[g] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 803.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 10, p. 894.

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of Apollo and of the other divinities of Delphi; may their lands never bear any fruit; may their wives and flocks bring forth only monſters; may they periſh in battle; may they miſcarry in all their enterprizes; may their generations become extinct with them; and, while they live, may Apollo and the other deities of Delphi reject, with horror, their prayers and their ſacrifices [i]."

The next day we deſcended into the plain, to ſee the horſe and chariot races [k]. The Hippodromos, the name of the ſpace allotted for the courſe, is ſo vaſt, that no leſs than forty chariots have ſometimes been known to contend for the victory [l]. We ſaw ten ſtart at once from the barrier [m], but few of which returned, the reſt being daſhed to pieces againſt the goal, or broken in the middle of the courſe.

When the races were ended we returned to Delphi, to be preſent at the funeral honours which the Theoria of the Ænianes propoſed to render to the manes of Neoptolemus, and at the ceremonies which were to precede them. This people, who reckon Achilles among the number of their ancient kings, and pay peculiar reſpect to the memory of that hero and his ſon Neoptolemus, dwell

[i] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 445.
[k] Pauſ. lib. 10, cap. 37, p. 893. Sophocl. in Electr. v. 700 et 731.
[l] Pind. Pyth. 5, v. 65.
[m] Sophocl. in Electr. v. 703.

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near Mount Œta, in Theſſaly. Every fourth year they ſend a deputation to Delphi, not only to offer ſacrifices to the deities of the place, but to make libations, and to pray upon the tomb of Neoptolemus, who periſhed here, at the foot of the altar, by the hand of Oreſtes ſon of Agamemnon [n]. The firſt of theſe duties they had diſcharged the day before; and they were now about to acquit themſelves of the ſecond.

Polyphron, a young and rich Theſſalian, was at the head of the Theoria. As he pretended to derive his deſcent from Achilles, he was deſirous to appear in the eyes of the people with a ſplendour that might juſtify ſuch high claims. The proceſſion opened by a hecatomb really conſiſting of one hundred oxen [o], ſome of them with gilded horns, and others crowned with flowers and garlands. They were led by the ſame number of Theſſalians, clothed in white, with axes on their ſhoulders. Other victims followed, and muſicians were placed at intervals who played on different inſtruments. Next appeared ſome Theſſalian women, whoſe charms attracted every eye. They walked, with meaſured ſteps, ſinging hymns in honour of Thetis, mother of Achilles, and bearing in their hands, or on their heads, baſkets filled with flowers, fruits, and precious aromatics. They

[n] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 2, p. 123.
[o] Id. lib. 3, p. 127.

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were followed by fifty young Theſſalians mounted on ſuperb horſes, whitening their bits with foam. Polyphron was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the majeſtic graces of his perſon, than by the magnificence of his apparel. When the proceſſion arrived before the temple of Diana, the prieſteſs made her appearance, with the inſignia and attributes of the goddeſs, having a quiver over her ſhoulder, and in her hands a bow and lighted flambeau. She mounted her car and cloſed the proceſſion, which continued to proceed in the ſame order as far as the tomb of Neoptolemus, ſituated in an encloſure on the left of the temple [p].

The Theſſalian horſemen three times made the circuit of the tomb. The Theſſalian girls uttered long groans, and the other deputies mournful cries. A moment after the ſignal was given, and all the victims fell at once around the altar. Their extremities were cut off and placed on a large pile, on which the prieſts, after reciting ſome prayers, made their libations; after which Polyphron ſet fire to it with the torch he had received from the hands of the prieſteſs of Diana. The claims which the miniſters of the temple have on certain portions of the victims were then ſatisfied, and the remainder reſerved for an entertainment, to which the prieſts, the principal inhabitants of Delphi, and

[p] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 24, p. 858.

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the Theori, or deputies of the other Grecian cities, were invited [q]. We were admitted to it; but in the mean time took a ſtep to the Leſche, which preſented itſelf to our view.

This is an edifice, or portico, ſo named becauſe it is the place in which people meet to converſe or tranſact buſineſs [r]. We there found ſeveral pictures expoſed to the public eye, in a kind of emulative exhibition, which has been uſual about a century [s]. But we were leſs attentive to theſe than to the paintings which decorate the walls. They are by the hand of Polygnotus of Thaſos, and were conſecrated in this place by the Cnidians [t].

To the right, Polygnotus has repreſented the taking of Troy, or rather the conſequences of that event: for he has choſen the moment when, glutted with carnage, almoſt all the Greeks are preparing to return to their native homes. The field of the picture includes not only the inſide of the city ſeen through the walls, the deſtruction of which is completing, but the ſea ſhore, near which are ſeen the veſſel of Menelaus ready to ſet ſail, and the tent of that prince which is beginning to be taken down. A variety of groups are diſtributed in the

[q] Eurip. in Ion. v. 1131. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3, p. 133 et 134.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 25, p. 859.
[s] Plin. lib. 35, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 690.
[t] Pauſan. et Plin. ibid. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 412.

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market-place, in the ſtreets, and on the ſea-ſhore. Here Helen is ſeen, accompanied by two of her women, ſurrounded by ſeveral wounded Trojans, whoſe misfortunes ſhe has occaſioned, and ſeveral Greeks who ſtill ſeem to contemplate her beauty with admiration. Further on, Caſſander appears ſeated on the ground, in the midſt of Ulyſſes, Ajax, Agamemnon, and Menelaus, who are repreſented ſtanding motionleſs near an altar: for the general character of this picture is that gloomy ſilence, that fearful repoſe, into which both the victors and the vanquiſhed muſt neceſſarily ſink, when the former are wearied of their cruelties, and the latter of their exiſtence. Neoptolemus alone has not yet ſatiated his vengeance, and is ſtill ſeen purſuing ſome feeble Trojans. This figure, above all, attracts the eyes of the ſpectator; and ſuch doubtleſs was the intention of the artiſt, as he painted it for a place contiguous to the tomb of that hero.

It is impoſſible not to feel the ſtrongeſt emotions of terror and compaſſion, when we view the body of Priam and thoſe of the principal Trojan chiefs extended on the earth, covered with wounds, and forſaken by all, amidſt the ruins of a city once ſo flouriſhing. The ſame emotions are alſo ſtrongly felt at the ſight of a child in the arms of an old ſlave, who puts his little hand before his eyes, to hide from them the ſurrounding objects

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of horror; of that other child who, ſeized with terror and conſternation, is running to embrace an altar; and of thoſe Trojan women who, ſeated on the ground, and almoſt piled upon each other, appear ſinking beneath the weight of their deſtiny. Among the number of theſe captives are two daughters of Priam, and the wretched Andromache holding her ſon upon her knees. The painter has let us ſee the affliction of the youngeſt of the princeſſes; but of that of the two others the imagination only can judge: their heads are covered with a veil.

At this moment it occurred to us that great praiſe had been beſtowed on Timanthes for having thrown a veil over the head of Agamemnon, in his ſacrifice of Iphigenia. The ſame image had already been employed by Euripides[y], who had borrowed it no doubt from Polygnotus. Be that as it may, in one of the corners of the picture I have been deſcribing we read this inſcription by Simonides: "Polygnotus of Thaſos, ſon of Aglaophon, has repreſented the deſtruction of Troy[z]." This inſcription is in verſe, as are almoſt all thoſe intended to preſerve the memory of celebrated names or events.

On the oppoſite wall, Polygnotus has painted the deſcent of Ulyſſes into hell, conformably to

[y] Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1550.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 27, p. 866.

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the relation given by Homer and other poets. The principal objects are the bark of Charon, the evocation of the ghoſt of Tireſias, Elyſium filled with heroes, and Tartarus crowded with the wicked. In this piece we may remark a new and dreadful ſpecies of puniſhment deſtined by Polygnotus for unnatural children; one of which he has introduced in his picture, and has repreſented his father ſtrangling him [y]. I obſerved likewiſe, that to the torments of Tantalus he has added one by which this miſerable prince is kept in a perpetual ſtate of apprehenſion. He has placed over him an enormous rock, which every moment threatens to fall upon his head; but this idea he borrowed from the poet Archilochus [z].

Theſe pictures, the firſt of which contains upwards of an hundred figures, and the ſecond more than eighty, produce a noble effect, and give a high idea of the genius and ſkill of Polygnotus. The perſons round us were employed in exaggerating their defects and beauties [a]; but it was admitted by all, that the artiſt had treated his vaſt and ſublime ſubjects with ſo much judgment as to produce in each picture a rich and magnificent whole.

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[y] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 28, p. 866.

[z] Id. ibid. p. 876.

[a] Quintil. lib. 12, cap. 10. Lucian. in Imag. t. ii. p. 465. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvii. Hiſt. p. 49. Œuv. de Falc. t. v. p. 1.

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The principal perſonages are diſtinguiſhable by their names, written near their figures; a cuſtom which has been laid aſide as the art has been brought to greater perfection.

Whilſt we were admiring theſe works, a meſſenger came to inform us that Polyphron expected us in the banquet hall. We found him in the centre of a large ſquare tent, covered and encloſed on three ſides by painted tapeſtry, which is kept in the treaſury of the temple, and was borrowed by Polyphron on the occaſion. On the ceiling was repreſented, on one ſide, the ſun when nearly ſetting; on the other, Aurora juſt beginning to appear; and, in the middle, Night in her car, clothed in black crape, attended by the moon and ſtars: on the other pieces of tapeſtry were centaurs, horſemen purſuing ſtags and lions, and naval battles [b].

The entertainment was very ſumptuous, and laſted a conſiderable time. Female muſicians performed upon the flute. The Theſſalian girls entertained us with delightful concerts, and the young men exhibited mock combats in dances ſkilfully executed [c].

Some days after, we aſcended to the ſource of the Caſtalian fountain, the deliciouſly cool and pure ſtreams of which form beautiful caſcades on

[b] Eurip. in Ion. v. 1141.
[c] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3, p. 144.

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the declivity of the mountain. The fountain guſhes forth from between two ridges of rocks, which overtop the city of Delphi [d].

Thence, purſuing our way towards the north, to the diſtance of more than ſixty ſtadia *, we arrived at the cave Corycius, or, as it is ſometimes called, the Cave of the Nymphs, becauſe conſecrated to them as well as to the gods Pan and Bacchus [e]. The water that drops from every part forms little rivulets in it, which are never dry. Though very deep, the light of day penetrates almoſt every corner of it [f]. It is ſo capacious, that at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Delphi made it their place of refuge [g]. We were ſhewn in the environs a great number of grottos, which are held in high veneration; for in theſe ſolitary haunts every thing is eſteemed ſacred, and every place believed to be the abode of genii [h].

The road we followed offered ſucceſſively to our view an endleſs variety of objects; pleaſing valleys, cluſters of pine trees, lands capable of cultivation, rocks menacing our heads, precipices

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[d] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 8, p. 817. Spon. Voy. de Grèce, t. ii. p. 37. Wheeler, a Journey, &c. book 4, p. 314.

* About 2 leagues and a half.

[e] Æſchyl. in Eumen. v. 22. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 32, p. 878.

[f] Pauſan. ibid.

[g] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 36.

[h] Æſchyl. in Eumen. v. 23. Strab. lib. 9, p. 417. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 5, v. 73.

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yawning beneath our feet, and broken points of view, from which we looked down, at a great depth, on the adjacent country. In this landſcape we got a glimpſe, near Panopeus, a town ſituated on the confines of Phocis and Bœotia, of a number of carriages filled with women, who were alighting from them, and forming themſelves into circular dances. Our guides knew them to be the Athenian Thyades, women initiated in the myſteries of Bacchus, who repair annually to join thoſe of Delphi, in order to aſcend the heights of Parnaſſus in a body, and there celebrate, with their accuſtomed enthuſiaſm, the orgies of that god [i].

The extravagance of their devotion will not ſurpriſe thoſe who know how eaſy it is to inflame the lively and ardent imagination of the Grecian women. They have not unfrequently been known to ſpread themſelves like torrents over cities and whole provinces, half naked, and with diſhevelled locks, uttering the moſt frightful howlings. A ſingle ſpark ſufficed to produce theſe combuſtions. One or two of them, ſeized with a kind of delirium, imagined themſelves incited by divine inſpiration, and communicated their frantic tranſports to their companions. When the fit was on the decline, expiations and remedies

[i] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 4, p. 806; cap. 6, p. 812; cap. 32, p. 876.

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restored tranquillity to their minds [k]. These epidemical paroxysms are less frequent since real knowledge has made a more extensive progress, though some traces of them are still to be seen in the festivals of Bacchus.

Continuing our road between hills piled upon each other, we arrived at the foot of Mount Lycorea, the highest of the Parnassian ridge, and perhaps of all Greece [l]. Here it is said the inhabitants of the adjacent districts took refuge to escape the deluge of Deucalion [m]. We set out to reach the top of the mountain, but, after many falls, we experienced how easily we may attain to certain heights on Parnassus, but how difficult it is to gain the summit; and we descended to Elatea, the capital of Phocis.

This little province is environed by lofty mountains, and is only accessible by defiles, at the entrance of which the Phocians have erected fortresses. Elatea defends them against the inroads of the Thessalians [n]; Parapotamii from those of the Thebans [o]; and twenty other cities, the greater part of which are built on rocks, are encompassed with walls and towers [p].

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[k] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 54. Ælian. lib. 3, cap. 42. Theopomp. ap. Suid. in Βάκις, et ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 963.
[l] Wheeler, a Journey, &c. book 4, p. 318; t. ii. p. 40.
[m] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 4. Prid. ibid. Strab. lib. 9, p. 418.
[n] Strab. ibid. p. 424.
[o] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 462.
[p] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312.

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To the north, and eaſtward of Parnaſſus, we meet with beautiful plains watered by the Cephiſſus, which riſes at the foot of Mount Œta, above the city of Lilæa. The people of the neighbourhood affirm, that on certain days, and eſpecially in the afternoon, this river guſhes forth from the earth with fury, making a noiſe like the roaring of a bull [q]. Of this I ſaw nothing, but only obſerved it ſilently glide along, with frequent windings [r], amidſt fields clad with various kinds of trees, grain, and paſturage [s]. As if attached to its own bounties, it ſeems reluctantly to quit the ſcenes that it embelliſhes.

The other diſtricts of Phocis are diſtinguiſhed by particular productions. The oils of Tithorea [t], and the hellebore of Anticyra, a town ſituated on the Corinthian ſea [u], are in high eſtimation. Not far from thence, the fiſhermen of Bulis catch thoſe ſhell-fiſh which are uſed for the purple dye [x]: higher up we ſaw, in the valley of Ambryſſus, rich vineyards, and a quantity of ſhrubs, which produce thoſe little ſeeds that give ſo beautiful a red to woollens [y].

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[q] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 33, p. 883.
[r] Heſiod. Fragm. ap. Strab. lib. 9, p. 424.
[s] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 33, p. 883.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 32, p. 881.
[u] Strab. lib. 9, p. 418. Plin. lib. 25, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 367. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 36, p. 891.
[x] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 37, p. 893.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 36, p. 890.

Each

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Each city is independent, and poſſeſſes the right of ſending deputies to the general council, in which the national intereſts are diſcuſſed [z].

The inhabitants have a great number of feſtivals, temples, and ſtatues; but the honour of cultivating letters and the arts they leave to other nations. Their principal occupations are confined to ruſtic labours and domeſtic cares. They have at all times given ſtriking proofs of characteriſtic valour, and, on a particular occaſion, exhibited a fearful teſtimony of their love of liberty.

When on the point of ſinking under the power of the Theſſalians, who had invaded their country with ſuperior forces, they conſtructed a large pile, near which they placed their women, their children, their gold and ſilver, and all their valuable effects, and left them under the care of thirty of their warriors, with orders, in caſe of a defeat, to kill the women and children, to throw every thing into the flames, and either to deſtroy each other, or repair to the field of battle and periſh with the reſt of the nation. The conflict was long, the ſlaughter dreadful: the Theſſalians took to flight, and the Phocians remained free [a].

[z] Pauſ. lib. 10, cap. 4, p. 805; cap. 33, p. 882.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 1, p. 800.

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CHAP. XXIII.

Remarkable Events in Greece, from the Year 361 to the Year 357 before Chriſt. Death of Ageſilaus, King of Lacedæmon. Acceſſion of Philip to the Throne of Macedon. Social War.

DURING our ſtay at the Pythian games we more than once heard of the laſt expedition of Ageſilaus; and on our return we learnt his death[b]*.

Tachos, king of Egypt, having determined to invade Perſia, aſſembled an army of eighty thouſand men, which was to be ſtrengthened by a body of ten thouſand Greeks, among which number were a thouſand Lacedæmonians commanded by Ageſilaus[c]. It excited univerſal aſtoniſhment to ſee this prince, now more than eighty years of age, engage in ſo diſtant an expedition, and ſerve in the pay of a foreign power. But Lacedæmon wiſhed to take vengeance for the protection which

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 401.

* In the 3d year of the 104th Olympiad, correſponding with the years 362 and 361 before Chriſt.

[c] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 616.

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the king of Perſia had granted to the Meſſenians. She pleaded obligations to Tachos, and had beſides hopes that this war would reſtore liberty to the Greek cities of Aſia [d].

To theſe motives, which perhaps were only pretexts with Ageſilaus, were added others perſonal to himſelf. His active mind, unable to ſupport the idea of a peaceful life, and an obſcure death, ſuddenly beheld a new path opening to his genius, and he ſeized with the more avidity this opportunity of retrieving the luſtre of his glory, tarniſhed by the ſucceſs of Epaminondas, as Tachos had promiſed to confer on him the command of the whole army [e].

He left Lacedæmon. The Egyptians expected him with impatience. On the news of his arrival, the chief men of the nation, mingled with the multitude, eagerly thronged round a hero who, for ſuch a ſeries of years, had been ſo loudly celebrated by fame [f].

On their arrival on the ſhore, they found a little old man, of an ignoble figure, ſeated on the ground, in the midſt of a few Spartans, whoſe appearance, as negligent as his own, rendered it impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the ſubjects from the ſovereign. The officers of Tachos diſplayed before

[d] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 663.
[e] Id. ibid.
[f] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 616.

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him the preſents of hoſpitality, conſiſting of various ſorts of proviſions. Ageſilaus made choice of ſome coarſe eatables, and diſtributed the moſt delicate diſhes, as well as the perfumes, among the ſlaves. The ſpectators burſt out into immoderate laughter; and the wiſeſt among them contented themſelves with teſtifying their contempt, and quoting the fable of the Mountain in Labour [g].

His patience was ſoon put to a ſtill ruder trial. The king of Egypt refuſed to entruſt him with the command of his troops. He paid no attention to his counſels, and ſubjected him to every mortification that haughty inſolence and puerile vanity can inſpire. Ageſilaus patiently awaited the moment of extricating himſelf from the ſtate of degradation into which he had fallen, nor did he long ſeek for an opportunity. The troops of Tachos revolting, formed themſelves into two parties, each of which aſſumed the power to name a ſucceſſor to his crown [h]. Ageſilaus declared himſelf in favour of Nectanebus, one of the pretenders to the throne. He directed him in all his meaſures; and, after eſtabliſhing his authority, quitted Egypt, laden with honours, and carrying with him the ſum of two hundred and thirty talents *, ſent by Nectanebus as a preſent to the Lacedæmonians. A violent

[g] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 616. Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 8.
[h] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 663.
* 1,242,000 livres (51,750 l.)

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tempeſt obliged him to take ſhelter on a deſert part of the coaſt of Libya, where he died, at the age of eighty-four [i].

Two years after *, an event took place, which, though it eſcaped the attention of the Athenians, was deſtined to change the face of Greece, and of the known world.

Hitherto the connections between the Macedonians and Greece had been but ſlender, no diſtinction being made by the poliſhed ſtates of the latter country between them, and the other barbarous nations with whom they were perpetually at war. The ſovereigns of Macedon were formerly admitted to enter the liſts at the Olympic games, only on producing their titles by which they derived their deſcent from Hercules [k].

Archelaus afterwards attempted to introduce into his ſtates a taſte for letters and the arts. Euripides was invited to his court, and Socrates, if he had choſen to accept the offer, might there have found an aſylum.

The laſt of theſe princes, Perdiccas, ſon of Amyntas, had lately been cut off with the greater part of his army, in a battle with the Illyrians. On this news, his brother Philip, whom I had ſeen when a hoſtage among the Thebans, eluded

[i] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 618. Id. Apopht. Lacon. t. ii. p. 215.

* Under the archonſhip of Callimedes, the 1ſt year of the 105th Olympiad, correſponding with the years 360 and 359 before Chriſt.

[k] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 22; lib. 9, cap. 45.

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the vigilance of his guards, repaired to Macedon, and was appointed guardian to the ſon of Perdiccas[1].

The kingdom was now menaced with approaching ruin. Inteſtine diviſions and multiplied defeats had rendered it an object of contempt to all the neighbouring nations, which ſeemed to conſpire together to accelerate its ruin. The Pæonians made incurſions on the frontiers; the Illyrians collected their forces and meditated an invaſion; two competitors, equally formidable, and both of the royal houſe, aſpired to the throne; the Thracians maintained the claims of Pauſanias; and the Athenians ſent a fleet and army to aſſert thoſe of Argeus. The people in conſternation beheld only exhauſted finances, a handful of diſpirited and undiſciplined ſoldiers, the ſceptre in the hands of an infant, and by the ſide of the throne a regent ſcarcely twenty-two years of age.

Philip conſulting his own powers rather than the forces of the kingdom, undertook to render his nation what Epaminondas his model had rendered the Thebans. A few ſlight advantages taught the troops ſufficient confidence in themſelves to act with courage; and the people of Macedon no longer to deſpair of the ſtate. He preſently introduced order into the different departments of ad-

[1] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 407. Juſtin. lib. 7, cap. 5.

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miniſtration; new modelled the Macedonian phalanx; and engaged, by preſents and promiſes, the Pæonians to retire, and the king of Thrace to ſacrifice to him Pauſanias. He next marched againſt Argeus, defeated him, and diſmiſſed, without ranſom, the Athenian priſoners [m].

Though Athens now ſuſtained her greatneſs only by the influence of her ancient fame, ſhe was not to be treated with contempt. She had well-founded pretenſions on the city of Amphipolis in Macedonia, and the moſt evident intereſt in aſſerting her right. It was one of her colonies, and important in point of commerce, as it was through that channel that ſhe obtained her ſhip timber, her wool, and other articles of merchandize from upper Thrace. After many revolutions, Amphipolis had fallen into the hands of Perdiccas, brother of Philip; and it could not be reſtored to its ancient maſters without giving them a footing in Macedonia, nor kept without forcing them into a war. Philip therefore declared it independent, and ſigned a treaty of peace with the Athenians, in which that city was not mentioned. This ſilence left the contracting parties in poſſeſſion of their reſpective claims [n].

In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, oracles were

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 408.
[n] Id. lib. 16, p. 403. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 4, cap. 2. § 17.

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rumoured among the people, which declared that Macedon ſhould reſume its ancient ſplendour under a ſon of Amyntas. Heaven had promiſed a great man to Macedonia; and the genius of Philip ſeemed to point him out [o]. The nation, perſuaded that, even by the declaration of the gods themſelves, he alone ought to govern who was able to defend them, inveſted him with the ſovereign authority, of which they deprived the ſon of Perdiccas.

Encouraged by their choice, Philip united part of Pæonia to Macedon; defeated the Illyrians, and obliged them to retire within their ancient limits [p]. He ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Amphipolis, which the Athenians in the interval had fruitleſsly endeavoured to retake, and of ſome adjoining cities in which they had garriſons [q]. Athens, occupied with another war, was neither able to prevent nor to avenge hoſtilities, which Philip knew how to colour with ſpecious pretexts.

But nothing contributed more to augment his power than the diſcovery of ſome gold mines, which, when worked, annually produced him upwards of a thouſand talents [r] *: he afterwards em-

[o] Juſtin. lib. 7, cap. 6.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 409.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 412. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 4, cap. 2, § 17.
[r] Strab. lib. 7, p. 331. Senec. Quæſt. Nat. lib. 5, cap. 15. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 408 et 413.
* Upwards of five millions four hundred thouſand livres (225,000l.)

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ployed this wealth to corrupt the principal orators and ſtateſmen of the Grecian republics.

I have ſaid that the Athenians were obliged to ſhut their eyes to the firſt hoſtilities of Philip. The city of Byzantium, and the iſles of Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, had recently formed a league, to withdraw themſelves from their dependence [s]*. The war commenced with the ſiege of Chios. Chabrias commanded the fleet, and Chares the land forces [t]. The former enjoyed a reputation acquired by numerous great actions. He was only reproached with executing with too much ardour projects formed with too much circumſpection [u]. Almoſt his whole life had been paſſed at the head of armies, and far from Athens, where the fame of his opulence and merit excited much jealouſy [x]. The following anecdote will give an idea of his military talents. He was on the point of being defeated by Ageſilaus. The mercenaries in his army had fled, and the troops of Athens were ready to give way and follow their example. In this critical moment he commanded them to kneel on one knee, cover themſelves with their bucklers, and preſent their pikes. The king of

[s] Diod. ibid. p. 412. Demoſth. pro Rhod. Libert. p. 144.

* In the 3d year of the 105th Olympiad, before Chriſt 358 and 357.

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 412.

[u] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744.

[x] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 532. Nep. in Chabr. cap. 3.

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Lacedæmon, ſurpriſed at a manœuvre never before practiſed, and thinking it would be dangerous to attack this phalanx of iron, gave the ſignal of retreat. The Athenians decreed a ſtatue to their general, and allowed him to be repreſented in the attitude which had ſaved them from the diſgrace of a defeat [y].

Chares, proud of trifling ſucceſſes [z] and ſlight wounds [a], for which he was indebted to chance, deſtitute beſides of real abilities, without modeſty, and intolerably vain, diſplayed a moſt offenſive luxury both in peace and war [b]; drew on himſelf in every campaign the contempt of the enemy, and the hatred of the allies; fomented diſſenſions among the friendly nations, and robbed them of their treaſures, of which he was at once covetous and laviſh [c]. He even carried his audacity to ſuch a height as to embezzle the pay of the ſoldiers to corrupt the orators [d], and to give entertainments to the people, who preferred him to all the other generals [e].

Chabrias, when he came in ſight of Chios, unable to moderate his ardour, ordered the rowers to redouble their exertions, entered ſingly into the

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[y] Nep. in Chabr. cap. 1.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 385.
[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 278.
[b] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 532.
[c] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747. Diod. ibid. p. 403.
[d] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.
[e] Theopomp. ap. Athen. ibid.

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port, and was immediately ſurrounded by the fleet of the enemy. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, his ſoldiers threw themſelves into the ſea to ſwim to the other gallies which were coming to their aſſiſtance. Chabrias might have followed their example, but he choſe rather to die than abandon his ſhip [f].

The ſiege of Chios was undertaken and raiſed. The war laſted four years [g]. We ſhall hereafter ſee in what manner it was terminated.

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[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 412. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744. Nep. in Chabr. cap. 4.

[g] Diod. ibid. p. 424.

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CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Feſtivals of the Athenians.

THE early feſtivals of Greece were characterized by joy and gratitude. The people of the different nations, after gathering in the fruits of the earth, aſſembled to offer up ſacrifices, and to indulge in that mirth which is the natural conſequence of plenty [h]. Several of the Athenian feſtivals bear the veſtiges of this origin: they celebrate the return of verdure, of the harveſts, the vintage, and the four ſeaſons of the year [i]; and as theſe acts of worſhip are addreſſed to Ceres and to Bacchus, the feſtivals of thoſe two divinities are more numerous than thoſe of the other deities.

In proceſs of time, the commemoration of beneficial or illuſtrious events was fixed to ſtated days, the more certainly to perpetuate them to poſterity. If we take a view of the Athenian calendar [k], we ſhall find in it an abſtract of the annals of Athens, and the events the moſt glorious to the city. At one time, the union of the people of Attica by

[h] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 8, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 110.
[i] Meurſ. Græc. Fer. Caſtellan. &c.
[k] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349.

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Theſeus, the return of that prince into his ſtates, and the abolition of debts which he procured, are celebrated; and at another the battles of Marathon and Salamis, or thoſe of Platæa, Naxos, &c [l].

The birth of children is a feſtival for individuals [m]; and the enrolling of theſe children among the number of the citizens a national feſtival [n]; as it is alſo when, on attaining a certain age, they exhibit public teſtimonies of the progreſs they have made in the exerciſes of the gymnaſium [o]. Beſides theſe feſtivals, which intereſt the whole ſtate, there are others peculiar to each town.

The public ſolemnities are either annual, or return after a certain number of years. Such as were eſtabliſhed in the country from the remoteſt periods, are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe which have been recently borrowed from other nations [p]. Some of them are celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. On certain occaſions, I have ſeen three hundred oxen led in ſolemn pomp to the altars [q]. Upwards of eighty days [r], loſt to induſtry and ruſtic labours, are dedicated to ſpectacles calculated to divert the people after their fatigues, and to attach

[l] Meurſ. Græc. Fer.
[m] Id. ibid. in Amphidr.
[n] Id. ibid. in Apat.
[o] Id. ibid. in Oſchoph.
[p] Harpocr. in Ἐπιδόσ.
[q] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 324.
[r] Iſocrat. Paneg. t. i. p. 142. See the Athenian Calendar, in Petit, Corſini, &c.

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them to religion and the government. Theſe conſiſt of ſacrifices which inſpire reſpect by the pompous apparatus of the ceremonies; proceſſions in which the youth of both ſexes advantageouſly diſplay all their charms; theatrical pieces, the productions of the firſt geniuſes of Greece; dances, ſongs, and combats, in which bodily ſtrength, ſkill, and genius, are by turns exhibited.

Theſe combats are of two kinds; the gymnaſtic exhibited at the ſtadium, and the ſcenic competitions at the theatre [s]. In the former, the prize is diſputed by running, wreſtling, and other exerciſes of the gymnaſium; and in the latter, by ſong and dance. As theſe conſtitute the chief ornament of the principal feſtivals [t], I ſhall proceed to give ſome idea of the exhibitions on the ſtage.

Each of the ten tribes furniſhes a chorus, and a leader to conduct it [u]. This leader who is named the choregus, muſt be at leaſt forty years of age [x]. The choice of the performers lies with him, and they are generally taken from the claſs of children, or of youths [y]. It is his intereſt to have an excellent player on the flute to direct their voices, and

[s] Poll. lib. 3, cap. 30, § 142.
[t] Lyſ. Defenſ. Mun. p. 374.
[u] Argum. Orat. in Mid. p. 600. Demoſth. ibid. p. 605. Id. in Bœot. p. 1002.
[x] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 262.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 764.

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an able master to regulate their steps and gestures [a]. As it is necessary to establish the most perfect equality between the competitors, and as the victory frequently depends on the superior skill of these teachers, one of the first magistrates of the republic sees them drawn for by lot, in presence of the different bands and their respective choregi [a].

Some months previous to the festivals they begin to exercise the performers, and the choregus, that they may be constantly under his eye, often takes them to live with him, and provides for their support [b]. He appears at the festival, as well as his followers, with a gilt crown, and a magnificent robe [c].

These functions, consecrated by religion, are still farther ennobled by the example of Aristides, Epaminondas, and the greatest men, who have deemed it an honour to discharge them; but they are so expensive, that many citizens refuse the dangerous honour of sacrificing part of their fortunes [d], to the precarious hope of rising, by this means, to the first offices of magistracy.

Sometimes a tribe is unable to find a choregus, and in this case the state takes upon itself the ex-

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[a] Demosth. in Mid. p. 606 et 612.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 605.
[b] Antiphon. Orat. 16, p. 143. Ulpian. in Leptin. p. 575.
[c] Demosth. in Mid. p. 606 et 613. Antiphan. ap. Athen. lib. 3, p. 103.
[d] Lys. Defens. Mun. p. 375. Demosthen. in Mid. p. 605. Argum. Orat. in Mid. p. 600.

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pence [e], orders two citizens conjointly to ſupport the burthen [f], or permits the choregus of one tribe to conduct the chorus of another [g]. I ſhall add likewiſe that each tribe is eager to obtain the beſt poet, to compoſe the ſacred hymns [h].

The choruſes appear in the *pomps* or proceſſions; they range themſelves around the altars, and ſing hymns during the ſacrifice [i]; they repair to the theatre, where, deputed to maintain the honour of their reſpective tribes [k], their exertions are animated by the moſt lively emulation. Their leaders employ intrigues and corruption to obtain the victory [l]. Judges are appointed to decree the prize [m], which ſometimes is a tripod, carefully conſecrated by the victorious tribe, either in a temple [n], or in an edifice erected on the occaſion [o].

The people, almoſt as jealous of their pleaſures as of their liberty, wait the deciſion of the conteſt, with the ſame anxiety, the ſame tumult, as if their

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[e] Inſcript. Ant. ap. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 326.
[f] Ariſtot. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 408.
[g] Antiphon. Orat. 16, p. 143.
[h] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1404. Schol. ibid.
[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 800.
[k] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 311.
[l] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 604 et 612.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 606.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 604. Id. in Pœnipp. p. 1025. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 318. Athen. lib. 1, p. 37. Suid. in Πυθ. Taylor in Marmor. Sandvic. p. 67.
[o] Plut. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 835. Chandl. Inſcript. p. 48.

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moſt important intereſts were the object of diſcuſſion. The glory reſulting from the victory is ſhared between the triumphant chorus, the tribe to which it belongs, the chorégus who is at its head, and the maſters who have given the preparatory leſſons [p].

Every thing relative to theſe ſpectacles is provided for and ſettled by the laws. They declare the perſons of the choregus and the actors inviolable during theſe feſtivals [q]; they regulate the number of the ſolemnities when the different kinds of games, of which the people are ſo paſſionately enamoured, ſhall be preſented [r]. Such, amongſt others, are the Panathenæa and the greater Dionyſia, or Dionyſia of the city.

The former fall in the firſt month, which begins at the ſummer ſolſtice. Inſtituted in the earlieſt ages in honour of Minerva, and revived by Theſeus in memory of the union of all the people of Attica, their return is annual; but they are celebrated with additional ceremony and ſplendour in the fifth year [s]. The following is the order obſerved in them, according to the remarks I made the firſt time I had an opportunity of being preſent.

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[p] Lucian. in Hermot. t. i. p. 851. Inſcript. Antiq. ap. Spon, Voyag. t. ii. p. 315 et 327; ap. Van Dale, de Gymnaſ. cap. 5; ap. Taylor, in Marm. Sandvic. p. 70.

[q] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 612.

[r] Id. ibid. p. 604.

[s] Meurſ. Panathen. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. ii. p. 357. Caſtell. de Feſt. Græc. in Panathen.

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The people who inhabit the different towns of Attica thronged to the capital, leading with them a great number of victims deſtined for ſacrifices to the goddeſs [t]. In the morning I repaired to the banks of the Iliſſus, and ſaw the horſe races, in which the ſons of the firſt citizens of Athens contended for the honour of the victory [u]; I went to the ſtadium, and ſaw other young men ſtruggling for the prize at wreſtling and different exerciſes of the body [x]; then proceeding to the Odéum, I found there ſeveral muſicians engaged in gentler and leſs perilous conteſts [y]. Some executed pieces on the flute or cithara; others ſang and accompanied their voices with one of theſe inſtruments [z]. The ſubject propoſed to them was the eulogium of Harmodius, Ariſtogiton, and Thraſybulus, who had reſcued the republic from the yoke of the tyrants by which it was oppreſſed [a]: for, among the Athenians, public inſtitutions are ſo many monuments for the citizens who have ſerved the ſtate, and leſſons for thoſe who are called upon to render it ſervice. A crown of olive, and a veſſel filled with oil, were the prizes beſtowed upon the victors [b]. Crowns were after-

[t] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 385. Schol. ibid.
[u] Xenoph. Sympoſ. p. 872. Athen. lib. 4, p. 168.
[x] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 492. Xenoph. ibid.
[y] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.
[z] Meurſ. Panath. cap. 10.
[a] Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 7, cap. 4, p. 283.
[b] Ariſtot. ap. Schol. Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. v. 730. Schol. Pind. Nem. od. x. v. 65. Meurſ. Panath. cap. 11.

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wards conferred on individuals, who appeared to the people to have merited that mark of honour by their zeal in the ſervice of their country [c].

I next went to the Ceramicus, to ſee the proceſſion paſs that was formed without the walls [d], and beginning to file off. It was compoſed of different claſſes of citizens crowned with chaplets of flowers [e], and remarkable for their perſonal beauty. Among the number were old men of a majeſtic and venerable appearance, bearing branches of olive [f]; middle aged men, who, armed with lances and with bucklers, ſeemed only to reſpire war [g]; youth from eighteen to twenty, who ſang hymns in honour of the goddeſs [h]; beautiful boys clad in a ſimple tunic [i], adorned only with their native graces; and laſtly girls, who were of the firſt families in Athens, and whoſe features, ſhape, and deportment, attracted every eye [k]. With their hands they held baſkets on their heads, which, under a rich veil, contained ſacred utenſils, cakes, and every thing neceſſary for the ſacrifices [l]. Female attendants, who followed them, with one hand held over

[c] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 492.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 57.
[e] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 612.
[f] Xenoph. Sympoſ. p. 883. Etymol. Magn. et Heſych. in Θαλλοφ.
[g] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 58.
[h] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1, p. 18.
[i] Meurſ. Panath. cap. 24.
[k] Heſych. et Harpocr. in Κανηφ. Ovid. Metamor. lib. 2, v. 711.
[l] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 948.

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them an umbrella, and carried in the other a folding chair [m]. This is a ſpecies of ſervitude impoſed on the daughters of all foreigners ſettled at Athens: a ſervitude they ſhare in common with their fathers and mothers, who likewiſe carried on their ſhoulders veſſels filled with water and honey, for the purpoſe of libations [n].

They were followed by eight muſicians, four of whom played on the flute, and four on the lyre [o]. After them came rhapſodiſts ſinging the poems of Homer [p], and dancers armed at all points, who, attacking each other at intervals, repreſented, to the ſound of the flute, the battle of Minerva with the Titans [q].

Next came a ſhip that appeared to glide over the ground by the power of the wind, and the efforts of a great number of rowers, but which really was put in motion by concealed machinery [r]. The veſſel had a ſail of light ſtuff [s], on which young girls had repreſented in embroidery the victory of

[m] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1550. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 1.

[n] Ælian. ibid. Harpocr. in Μετοικ. Id. et Heſych. in Σκαφ. Poll. lib. 3, cap. 4, § 55.

[o] Drawings of Nointel, preſerved in the king of France's library.

[p] Lycurg. in Leocr. part. 2, p. 161. Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p. 228.

[q] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 984. Schol. ibid. Lyſ. in Mun. Accept. p. 374. Meurſ. Panathen. cap. 12.

[r] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1, p. 17. Philoſtr. in Sophiſt. lib. 2, p. 550. Meurſ. Panath. cap. 19.

[s] Harpocr. in Πέπλ.

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Minerva over the Titans[t]. On it alſo they had depicted, by order of the government, ſome heroes whoſe illuſtrious deeds had merited to be celebrated with thoſe of the gods[u].

This proceſſion marched on with ſolemn ſteps, under the direction of ſeveral magiſtrates[x], and traverſed the moſt frequented quarter of the city, amidſt a crowd of ſpectators, moſt of whom were placed on ſcaffolds erected for the occaſion[y]. When it had reached the temple of the Pythian Apollo[z], the ſail of the ſhip was taken down and carried to the citadel, where it was depoſited in the temple of Minerva[a].

In the evening I followed the crowd to the academy to ſee the torch race. The courſe is only ſix or ſeven ſtadia in length[b]. It extends from the altar of Prometheus, which is at the gate of this garden, to the walls of the city[c]. Several young men are ſtationed in this interval at equal diſtances[d]. When the ſhouts of the multitude have given the ſignal[e], the firſt lights his flambeau

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[t] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6. Eurip. in Hecub. v. 466. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Πέπλ.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 562. Schol. ibid.
[x] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 93.
[y] Athen. lib. 4, p. 167.
[z] Philoſtr. in Sophiſt. lib. 2, p. 550.
[a] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6.
[b] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 196.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 30, p. 75.
[d] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 98.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 133.

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at the altar [f], and running with it, hands it to the ſecond, who tranſmits it in the ſame manner to the third, and ſo ſucceſſively [g]. He who ſuffers it to be extinguiſhed can no more enter the liſts [h], and they who ſlacken their pace are expoſed to the railleries and even blows of the populace [i]. To gain the prize, it is neceſſary to have paſſed through the different ſtations with ſucceſs. This trial of ſkill was frequently repeated, and is diverſified according to the nature of the feſtivals [k].

The candidates who had been crowned at the different exerciſes, invited their friends to ſupper [l]. Sumptuous repaſts were given in the prytaneum and other public places, which laſted till the following day [m]. The people among whom the immolated victims were diſtributed [n], ſpread tables on every ſide, and gave a looſe to their lively and tumultuous mirth.

Several days of the year are dedicated to the worſhip of Bacchus [o]. The city, the harbour of Piræus, the country, and the neighbouring towns, by turns re-echo with his name. I have more

[f] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 79.
[g] Herodot. ibid. Æſchyl. in Agam. v. 320. Meurſ. Græc. Fer. lib 5, in Lampad.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 30, p. 75.
[i] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1125. Schol. ibid. Heſych. in Κεραμ.
[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 328.
[l] Athen. lib. 4, p. 168.
[m] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1, p. 18.
[n] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 385. Schol. ibid.
[o] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 604.

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than once ſeen the whole city in a ſtate of the moſt complete intoxication[p]; I have ſeen Bacchanals and Bacchanalian nymphs crowned with ivy, fennel, and poplar, with convulſive agitations dance and howl through the ſtreets, and invoke Bacchus with barbarous acclamations[q]; I have ſeen them tear the raw entrails of the victims with their teeth and nails, ſqueeze ſerpents in their hands, interweave them in their hair, twiſt them round their bodies, and by ſuch kind of extravagancies attract the attention of the terrified multitude[r].

Similar ſcenes are in ſome meaſure exhibited at a feſtival which is celebrated on the firſt appearance of ſpring. The city is then filled with ſtrangers[s], who repair thither in crowds, to bring the tribute of the iſlands ſubjected to the Athenians[t], to ſee the new pieces preſented at the theatre[u], and to be preſent at the games and public ſhews, but, above all, at a proceſſion which repreſents the triumph of Bacchus. In this the ſame retinue is exhibited with which that god is ſaid to have been attended when he made the conqueſt of India: men who perſonate ſatyrs, others who repreſent the god Pan[x]; ſome dragging goats along to ſacri-

[p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 637.
[q] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 516.
[r] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. Clem. Alex. Protrept. t. i. p. 11.
[s] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 637.
[t] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 377.
[u] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 603. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 311.
[x] Plut. in Anton. t. i. p. 926. Athen. lib. 5, p. 197.

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fice them [y]; others mounted on asses in imitation of Silenus [z]; others disguised like women [a]; others again carrying obscene figures, suspended on long poles [b], and singing the most licentious hymns [c]; in fine, all sorts of persons, of both sexes, most of them clad in the skins of fawns [d], concealed under masks [e], crowned with ivy, either drunk or feigning to be so [f], mingling their uninterrupted shouts with the sound of instruments; some agitating their bodies like madmen, and abandoning themselves to all the convulsions of fury; others executing regular and military dances, but holding vases instead of bucklers, and throwing thyrsi in the manner of darts, with which they sometimes menace and insult the spectators [g].

In the midst of these bands of furies, the choruses deputed by the different tribes advance in the most perfect order [h], and a number of young women, of the most distinguished families of the city, walk with downcast eyes [i], decked out in all their ornaments, and bearing on their heads the sacred

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[y] Plut. de Cup. Divit. t. ii. p. 527.
[z] Ulpian. in Mid. p. 688.
[a] Hesych. in Ἰβύφαλ.
[b] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 49. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 242.
[c] Aristoph. ibid. v. 260.
[d] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1242. Athen. lib 4, cap. 12, p. 148.
[e] Plut. de Cup. Divit. ibid. Athen. lib. 14, p. 622.
[f] Demosth. in Mid. p. 632.
[g] Demosth. ibid. Athen. lib. 14, p. 631.
[h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 475.
[i] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 241. Schol. ibid. Id. v. 253, &c.

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baſkets, which, beſides offerings of the earlieſt fruits, contain cakes of different forms, grains of ſalt, ivy leaves, and other myſterious ſymbols [k].

The roofs of the houſes, which are in the form of terraces, are covered with ſpectators, and eſpecially women, moſt of them with lamps and torches [l], to light the proceſſion, which almoſt always begins its march at night [m], halting in the ſquares and public places, to make libations, and offer up victims in honour of Bacchus [n].

The day is conſecrated to different games. The company repair early to the theatre [o], either to be preſent at the competitions in muſic and dancing between the choruſes, or to ſee the new pieces which the poets have prepared for the occaſion.

The firſt of the nine archons preſides at theſe feſtivals [p]; the ſecond at other ſolemnities [q]; and both have officers under them to relieve them in their functions [r], and guards to drive all perſons from the theatre, or other ſpectacles, who are the occaſion of any diſturbance [s].

As long as theſe feſtivals continue, the leaſt

[k] Clem. Alex. Protrept. t. i. p. 19. Caſtellan. in Dionyſ.
[l] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 261. Caſaub. in Athen. lib. 4, cap. 12.
[m] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 1161. Schol. ibid.
[n] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 611.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 615.
[p] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 89. Plut. in Cim. p. 483.
[q] Poll. ibid. § 90.
[r] Demoſth. ibid. p. 605.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 631.

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violence done to a citizen is criminal, and no creditor is allowed to profecute his debtor. All crimes and diſorders committed at this time are ſeverely puniſhed on the ſucceeding days [t].

The women alone participate in the feſtivals of Adonis [u], and in thoſe which, under the name of Theſmophoria, are celebrated in honour of Ceres and Proſerpine [x]: both theſe are accompanied with ceremonies which I have more than once deſcribed, or of which I am unable to penetrate the meaning.

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[t] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 604.

[u] Meurſ. Græc. Fer. lib. 1. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 98.

[x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 203.

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CHAP. XXV.

Of the Houſes and Entertainments of the Athenians.

THE houſes of the Athenians in general conſiſt of two ſets of apartments; the upper ſtory for the women, and the lower for the men[y]. The roofs have terraces[z], with a large projection at each extremity[a]. Athens is reckoned to contain upwards of ten thouſand[b].

A conſiderable number have gardens behind them[c], and in the front a ſmall court, or rather a ſort of portico[d], at the end of which is the houſe door, ſometimes entruſted to the care of a eunuch[e]. We there find ſometimes either a figure of Mercury to drive away thieves[f], or a dog, who is a much more effectual guard[g], and almoſt always

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[y] Lyſ. de Cæd. Eratoſth. p. 6.
[z] Plin. lib. 36, cap. 25, p. 756.
[a] Ariſtot. Œconom. lib. 2, t. ii. p. 502. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3, cap. 9, § 30.
[b] Xenoph. Memor. p. 774.
[c] Terent. in Adelph. act. 5, ſcen. 5, v. 10.
[d] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 311. Vitruv. lib. 6, cap. 10, p. 119.
[e] Plat. ibid. t. i. p. 314.
[f] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 1155. Schol. ibid.
[g] Id. in Lyſiſt. v. 1217. Theophr. Charact. cap. 4. Apollodor. ap. Athen. lib. 1, p. 3.

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an altar in honour of Apollo, on which the maſter of the houſe ſacrifices on certain days [h].

Strangers are ſhewn the houſes of Miltiades, Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, and other great men of the laſt age. Formerly nothing diſtinguiſhed them from the others; at preſent they are conſpicuous from their contraſt with the ſumptuous edifices which men, deſtitute either of fame or virtue, have had the effrontery to erect by the ſide of theſe modeſt habitations [i]. Since a taſte for building has been introduced at Athens, the arts are conſtantly employed to encourage and improve it. The ſtreets are made more ſtraight and regular [k], the modern houſes are built with two wings, and the apartments of the huſband and wife placed on the ground floor; they are rendered more commodious by a judicious diſtribution of all the parts, and more ſplendid by a variety of embelliſhments.

Such was the houſe occupied by Dinias, one of the moſt opulent and luxurious citizens of Athens, whoſe oſtentation and expenſive profuſion was ſuch as preſently to diſſipate his fortune. He was conſtantly followed by three or four ſlaves [l], and his wife Lyſiſtrate never appeared in public but

[h] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 870. Schol. ibid. Plat. de Rep. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 328.

[i] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 825. Demoſth. Olynth. 3, p. 38 et 39. Id. de Rep. Ordin. p. 127. Id. in Ariſtocr. p. 758.

[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 438.

[l] Demoſth. pro Phorm. p. 965.

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in a carriage drawn by four white Sicyonian horſes [m]. Like other Athenians, he was always ſerved by a waiting woman, who ſhared the nuptial privileges with his wife [n]; and was never without a kept miſtreſs in the city, on whom he generouſly beſtowed her freedom and a ſettlement before he quitted her [o]. Eager to promote his own enjoyments and thoſe of his friends, he was continually giving feaſts and entertainments.

I requeſted him one day to ſhew me his houſe, and afterwards drew a plan of it, which I ſubjoin *. A long and narrow avenue led directly to the apartment of the women: no men are permitted to enter except near relations, and ſuch as are introduced by the huſband. After croſſing a periſtyle ſurrounded by three porticos, we arrived at a large room, where we found Lyſiſtrate, to whom I was preſented by Dinias.

She was employed in embroidering a robe; but her attention was ſtill more engaged by two Sicilian doves, and a little Malteſe lap-dog that was playing about her [p]. Lyſiſtrate was reckoned one of the handſomeſt women in Athens, and took no ſmall pains to ſupport this reputation

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[m] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 628.
[n] Id. in Neær. p. 881.
[o] Id. pro Phorm. p. 965.
* See the plan; and the note which is at the end of the volume.
[p] Theophr. Charact. cap. 5 et 21.

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by the elegance of her dreſs. Her black hair, perfumed with eſſences [q], floated in large treſſes on her ſhoulders; golden trinkets adorned her ears [r]; her neck and arms were ornamented with ſtrings of pearls [s], and her fingers with precious ſtones [t]. Not ſatisfied with her natural complexion, ſhe had employed artificial aids, to rival the bloom of the roſe and the lily [u]. She was dreſſed in a white robe, ſuch as are uſually worn by women of diſtinction [x].

At this moment we heard a voice enquiring whether Lyſiſtrate was at home [y]. Yes, anſwered a ſlave, who immediately entered to announce Eucharis, a female friend of Lyſiſtrate, who ran to meet her, tenderly embraced her, ſat down by her, and never ceaſed praiſing her on her figure and adjuſtment. How divinely you look! it is impoſſible to be better dreſſed. This ſtuff is charming, and becomes you wonderfully. How much did it coſt [z]?

As I perceived that this converſation would not be ſoon ended, I requeſted the permiſſion of

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[q] Lucian. Amor. t. ii. p. 441.
[r] Lyſ. contr. Eratoſth. p. 198. Laert. lib. 3, § 42.
[s] Anacr. od. 20. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 847. Theophr. de Lapid. § 64.
[t] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 331.
[u] Lyſ. de Cæd. Eratoſth. p. 8. Athen. lib. 13, cap. 3, p. 568. Etymol. Magn. in Ἐψιμ. et in Ἔγχ.
[x] Ariſtoph. in Theſmoph. v. 848. Schol. ibid.
[y] Theocr. Idyll. 15, v. 1.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 78. Theocr. ibid. v. 34.

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Lyſiſtrate to examine the reſt of the apartment. The firſt object that attracted my attention was the toilet. I there ſaw ſilver baſons and ewers; different ſorts of mirrors; bodkins to diſentangle the hair, irons to curl it[a], fillets of different breadths to bind it, nets to confine it[b], yellow powder to colour it[c]; bracelets and ear-rings of various kinds; boxes containing red and white paint; black to tinge the eye-brows; and every utenſil neceſſary for cleaning the teeth[d].

I examined all theſe objects with the greateſt attention; Dinias however ſeemed unable to comprehend why they ſhould appear novel to a Scythian. He next ſhewed me his own portrait and that of his lady[e]; and, on my appearing aſtoniſhed at the elegance of his furniture, told me that, deſirous to avail himſelf of the induſtry and ſuperior ingenuity of foreign workmen, he had procured his ſeats to be made in Theſſaly[f], his mattreſſes at Corinth[g], and his pillows at Carthage[h]; and, ſeeing my ſurpriſe increaſe, he laughed at my ſimplicity, and, in vindication of himſelf, added, that

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[a] Lucian. Amor. t. ii. § 39 et 40. Poll. lib. 5, cap. 16, § 95. Not. Var. ibid.
[b] Homer. Iliad. lib. 22, v. 468.
[c] Heſych. in Θάψιν. Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 2, v. 88.
[d] Lucian. Amor. t. ii. § 39 et 40.
[e] Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.
[f] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 1, p. 28. Poll. lib. 10, cap. 11, § 48.
[g] Antiph. ap. Athen. p. 27.
[h] Hermipp. ibid. p. 28.

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Xenophon appeared in the army with an Argive buckler, an Athenian cuiraſs, a Bœotian helmet, and a horſe from Epidaurus [i].

We now proceeded to the apartments of the men, in the centre of which we found a ſmall graſs-plat [k], ſurrounded by four porticos, the walls of which were lined with ſtucco, and wainſcotted [l]. Theſe porticos communicate with ſeveral halls or chambers, moſt of them beautifully decorated. The elegance of the furniture was heightened by gold and ivory [m]; the walls and ceilings [n] were ornamented with paintings [o]; the tapeſtry of the doors [p], and the carpeting manufactured at Babylon, repreſented Perſians with their ſweeping robes, vultures and different kinds of birds, and various fantaſtic animals [q].

Nor did Dinias diſplay leſs luxury at his table than in his houſe. I ſhall give, from my journal, a deſcription of the firſt ſupper to which I was invited with my friend Philotas.

The company was to aſſemble towards the

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[i] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, p. 24. Poll. lib. 1, cap. 10, § 149.

[k] Plin. Jun. lib. 7, epiſt. 27.

[l] Vitruv. lib. 6, cap. 10.

[m] Bacchyl. ap. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 3, p. 39.

[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 529.

[o] Andoc. de Alcibiad. part. 2, p. 31. Xenoph. Mem. lib. 5, p. 844.

[p] Theophr. Char. cap. 5.

[q] Callixen. ap. Athen. lib. 5, cap. 6, p. 197. Hipparch. ap. Eumd. lib. 11, cap. 7, p. 477. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 969. Spanh. ibid. p. 312.

evening,

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evening, as soon as the shade of the gnomon should be twelve feet long[r]. We were careful to be neither too soon nor too late, agreeable to the rules of Athenian politeness[s]. We found Dinias hurrying about and giving his orders. He introduced to us Philonides, one of those parasites who ingratiate themselves with the rich, to do the honours of the house and furnish amusement for the guests[t]. From time to time we observed him shaking off the dust that stuck upon the robe of Dinias[u]. A moment after arrived Nicocles the physician, much fatigued: he had a great many patients, he said; but their ailments were only slight colds and coughs, the consequence of the rains that had fallen since the beginning of autumn[x]. He was soon followed by Leon, Zopyrus, and Theotimus, three Athenians of distinction, attached to Dinias from love of pleasure. Last of all Democharès made his appearance uninvited[y]. He was a man of wit and agreeable talents, and met with the most welcome reception from the whole company.

We passed into the dining room, where frank-

[r] Hesych. in Δωδε. Menand. ap. Athen. lib. 6, cap. 10, p. 243. Casaub. ibid.

[s] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 7, v. 24. Plut. Sympos. lib. 8, quæst. 6, t. ii. p. 726.

[t] Theophr. Charact. cap. 20.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 2.

[x] Hippocr. Aphorism. sect. 3, § 13.

[y] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 174.

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incenſe and other odours were burning [z]. On the buffet were diſplayed ſilver and gilt vaſes, ſome of them enriched with precious ſtones [a].

Some ſlaves in waiting now poured water on our hands [b], and placed chaplets on our heads [c]. We drew by lot for the king of the banquet [d], whoſe office it is to keep the company within bounds, without checking a proper degree of freedom; to give the ſignal for circulating bumpers; name the toaſts, and ſee that all the laws of drinking are obſerved *. Chance decided in favour of Democharès.

After the table had been ſeveral times wiped with a ſponge [e], we ſeated ourſelves around it on couches [f], with coverlets of purple [g]. The bill of fare of the ſupper being brought to Dinias [h], we ſet apart the firſt portion of it for the altar of

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[z] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 21, p. 101.

[a] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 417. Theophr. Charact. cap. 23. Id. de Lapid. § 63. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193.

[b] Athen. lib. 9, cap. 1, p. 366. Duport. in Theophr. p. 454.

[c] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 3, p. 101.

[d] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 973. Laert. lib. 8, § 64. Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 1, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 620.

* By one of theſe laws a man muſt either drink or leave the table (Cicer. Tuſcul. 5, cap. 41; t. ii. p. 395). Sometimes the company contented themſelves with pouring on the head of the delinquent the wine he refuſed to drink (Laert. lib. 8, § 64).

[e] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 20, v. 151. Martial. Epigr. 142. lib. 14.

[f] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 842. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. ultim. t. ii. p. 448.

[g] Athen. lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 48.

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 10, p. 49.

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Diana [i]. Each of us had brought his ſervant [k]. Dinias was waited on by a negro, by one of thoſe Æthiopian ſlaves who are purchaſed by the rich at a great price, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other citizens [l].

I ſhall not enter into a minute detail of an entertainment which every moment afforded us freſh proofs of the opulence and prodigality of Dinias: to give a general idea of it will be ſufficient.

We were firſt preſented with ſeveral ſorts of ſhell-fiſh; ſome as they come out of the ſea; others roaſted on the aſhes, or fried in ſtoves; and moſt of them ſeaſoned with pepper and cummin [m]. Freſh eggs were ſerved up at the ſame time, both of common fowls and peahens, the latter of which are in the higheſt eſtimation [n]; ſauſages [o], pigs feet [p], a wild boar's liver [q], a lamb's head [r], calves chitterlings [s], a ſow's belly ſeaſoned with cummin, vinegar, and ſilphium [t]; ſmall birds, on which was poured a very hot ſauce compoſed of ſcraped

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[i] Theophr. Charact. cap. 10. Duport. ibid.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 9.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 21. Caſaub. ibid. Terent. in Eunuch. act. 1, ſcen. 2, v. 85.
[m] Athen. lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 90, &c.
[n] Triph. ap. Athen. lib. 2, p. 58.
[o] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 161. Henric. Steph. in Αλλᾶς.
[p] Ecphant. et Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 96.
[q] Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 7, cap. 24, p. 330.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Id. ibid. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 716.
[t] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 21, p. 101.

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cheese, oil, vinegar, and silphium [w]. In the second course we were presented with whatever was esteemed most exquisite in game, poultry, and particularly fish. The third course consisted of fruit.

Among the multitude of dainties that were successively placed on the table, each guest had the liberty of choosing what was most agreeable to the taste of his friends, and sending it to them [x]: an attention seldom omitted at ceremonious entertainments.

No sooner had we begun supper, than Demochares taking a cup, slightly applied it to his lips and handed it round the table, each of us touching the liquor in his turn. This first taste is considered as the symbol and bond of friendship by which the guests are united. Other full cups quickly followed this, regulated by the healths Demochares drank, sometimes to one, sometimes to another [y], and which the person drank to immediately returned.

The conversation at table was lively, without interruption, or any particular object, and insensibly led to pleasantries respecting the suppers of men of wit and philosophers, who lose moments so precious in puzzling each other with riddles and

[w] Aristoph. in Av. v. 532 et 1578.

[x] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 1048. Theophr. Charact. cap. 17. Casaub. ibid. p. 137.

[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4, v. 3. Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 204. Athen. lib. 10, p. 432 et 444. Feith. Antiq. Homer. lib. 3, p. 306.

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ænigmas [a], or in a methodical diſcuſſion of the moſt obſcure queſtions in morals or metaphyſics [a]. By way of ridiculing this practice, Demochares propoſed that we ſhould diſplay our knowledge in the choice of the diſhes moſt agreeable to the palate, the art of preparing them, and the facility of procuring them at Athens. As we had determined to imitate as cloſely as poſſible the banquets of the ſages, it was agreed that each perſon preſent ſhould ſpeak in his turn, and treat his ſubject with the utmoſt gravity, without being either too prolix, or too negligent in his details.

The ceremony was to begin with me; but, as I was but little acquainted with the ſubject which was to be diſcuſſed, I was on the point of making my excuſe, when Demochares begged me to give the company an idea of the Scythian repaſts. I anſwered in a few words, that their ſole food was honey, and the milk of cows or mares [b], to which they were ſo accuſtomed from their birth, as not to ſtand in need of nurſes [c]; that they received the milk in large pails, and churned it a conſiderable time to ſeparate the moſt delicate part of it from the reſt, an employment which they allotted to ſuch

[a] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 404. Athen. lib. 10, cap. 15, p. 448.

[a] Plat. Conviv. t. iii. p. 172. Xenoph. ibid. p. 872. Plut. Sept. Sapient. Conviv. t. ii. p. 146.

[b] Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 2.

[c] Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 226.

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priſoners as the chance of war threw into their hands[d]; but I was careful not to add that they put out the eyes of theſe unhappy men to prevent them from eſcaping.

After other particulars which I ſuppreſs, Leon taking up the converſation, ſaid: The Athenians are perpetually reproached with their frugality[e]. Our meals indeed are in general ſhorter and leſs ſumptuous than thoſe of the Thebans and ſome others of the Grecian ſtates[f]; but we have begun to follow their example, and preſently they will follow ours. Every day we add new refinements to the pleaſures of the table, and ſee our ancient ſimplicity gradually diſappear, with all thoſe patriotic virtues which originated in neceſſity, and could not be the growth of all ages. Let our orators remind us as often as they pleaſe of the battles of Marathon and Salamis; let ſtrangers admire the monuments that decorate this city: Athens poſſeſſes a more ſubſtantial advantage, in my eyes, in that abundance which we enjoy here during the whole year; and in that market which daily preſents to us the choiceſt productions of the iſlands and the continent. I am not afraid to aſſert it: there is no country in which it is eaſier to find good cheer, not excepting even Sicily.

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[d] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 2.
[e] Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 47.
[f] Diphil. et Polyb. ap. Athen. lib. 4, p. 17 et 18. Eubul. ap. eumd. lib. 10, cap. 4, p. 417.

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We have nothing to wish for with respect to butcher's meat and fowls. Our poultry yards, either in town or country, are admirably stocked with capons [g], pigeons [h], ducks [i], chickens, and geese, which we have a particular art of fattening [k]. The seasons, in their succession, bring us becaficos [l], quails [m], thrushes [n], larks [o], red-breasts [p], stock-doves [q], turtles [r], woodcocks [s], and francolins [t]. The Phasis presents to us the birds that are the ornament of its banks, and which may be styled, with still more justice, the ornament of our tables. They begin to multiply among us in the pheasant-grounds established by some wealthy individuals [u]. Our plains are covered with hares and

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[g] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9, cap. 50, t. i. p. 956.

[h] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 763. Athen. lib. 9, cap. 11, p. 393.

[i] Athen. ibid. p. 395. Mnesim. ibid. cap. 15, p. 403.

[k] Athen. ibid. cap. 8, p. 384. Varr. de Re Rustic. lib. 3, cap. 8, § 9. Cicer. Acad. lib. 2, cap. 18, t. ii. p. 26. Plin. lib. 10, cap. 50, t. i. p. 571.

[l] Aristot. ib. lib. 8, cap. 3, t. i. p. 902. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 24, p. 65. Epicharm. ibid. lib. 9, p. 398.

[m] Athen. ibid. cap. 10, p. 392.

[n] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1149. Athen. lib. 2, p. 64.

[o] Aristot. ibid. lib. 9, cap. 25, t. i, p. 935.

[p] Id. ibid. lib. 8, cap. 3, p. 902. Plin. lib. 10, cap. 9, p. 561.

[q] Aristot. ibid. Athen. lib. 9, p. 395.

[r] Aristot. ibid. Athen. ibid. p. 394.

[s] Aristot. ibid. cap. 26, p. 936.

[t] Aristoph. et Alexand. apud Athen. lib. 9, p. 387. Phœnic. ap. eumd. lib. 14, cap. 18, p. 652. Aristot. ibid. lib. 9, cap. 49, p. 955.

[u] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 109. Schol. ibid. Aristot. lib. 6, cap. 2, t. i. p. 859. Philox. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 2, p. 147.

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partridges [x]; our hills with thyme, rosemary, and other herbs fit to give a flavour and perfume to our rabbits. The adjacent forests furnish us with wild boars and their young ones [y]; and from the isle of Melos we have the best roebucks in Greece [z].

The sea too, said Zophyrus, taking up the discourse, attentive to remit the tribute due to her masters, enriches our tables with delicate fish [a]. We have the lamprey [b], the dorado [c], the weever [d], the xiphias * [e], the pagrus [f], the shad [g], and tunnies in abundance [h].

Nothing is comparable to the conger-eel we procure from Sicyon [i], the glaucus taken at Megara [k];

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[x] Athen. lib. 9, p. 388. Wheeler, a Journey, &c. book 5, p. 352.

[y] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 991. Mnesim. ap. Athen. lib. 9, cap. 15, p. 403. Spon, t. ii. p. 56.

[z] Athen. lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 4.

[a] Spon, ibid. p. 147. Wheel, ibid.

[b] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8, cap. 13, p. 909. Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 7, cap. 18, p. 312.

[c] Epich. et Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 7, cap. 24, p. 328. Aldrov. de Pisc. lib. 2, cap. 15, p. 169. Gesn. de Pisc. p. 128.

[d] Mnesim. ap. Athen. lib. 9, cap. 15, p. 403. Aldrov. ib. lib. 2, p. 255.

[e] Athen. lib. 7, cap. 7, p. 282. Aldrov. ibid. lib. 3, p. 330.

* This is the fish known in France by the name of the *espadon*; in Italy by that of the *pesce spada* (*Anglicè* the sword fish).

[f] Athen. lib. 7, cap. 22, p. 327. Aldrov. lib. 2, p. 149. Gesn. ibid. p. 773.

[g] Aristot. lib. 9, cap. 37, t. i. p. 941. Gesner. ibid. p. 21. Aldrov. p. 499.

[h] Gesn. ibid. p. 1147.

[i] Eudox. et Philem. ap. Athen. lib. 7, cap. 10, p. 288. Aldrov. p. 348. Gesner. de Pisc. p. 345.

[k] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 7, p. 295.

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the turbot, the mackerel, the ſoles, the mullets and rochets that frequent our coaſts[l]. The pilchards taken in other countries are the food of the common people; thoſe we catch in the vicinity of Phalerum are worthy of the table of the gods, eſpecially when left to ſteep only for a moment in boiling oil[m].

The vulgar, dazzled by a name, imagine that every part of what is reputed a delicacy is equally delicate: but we, who analyze merit more minutely, prefer the fore part of the glaucus, the head of the barbel and the conger, the breaſt of the tunny, and the back of the ſcate[n], and leave the reſt to leſs difficult taſtes.

To the abundant ſupplies of the ſea, let us add thoſe of the lakes of Bœotia. Are not freſh eels, equally remarkable for their delicacy and ſize, brought us every day from lake Copais[o]? Nor ought we to forget, in this enumeration of our riches, that aſtoniſhing quantity of ſalt fiſh, which we receive from the Helleſpont, Byzantium, and the coaſts of the Euxine.

Leon and Zopyrus, ſaid Philotas, have treated

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[l] Lync. Sam. ibid. p. 285 et 330. Archeſtr. ibid. p. 288. Cratin. et Nauſicr. ibid. p. 325.

[m] Athen. lib. 7, cap. 8, p. 285. Aldrov. de Piſc. lib. 2, p. 212. Geſn. ibid. p. 73; et alii.

[n] Plat. ap. Athen. lib. 7, p. 279. Antiphan. ibid. p. 295. Eriph. ibid. p. 302.

[o] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 1004. Id. in Lyſiſtr. v. 36. Schol. ibid. Athen. lib. 7, p. 297.

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of thoſe diſhes which form the baſis of an entertainment. Thoſe of the firſt and third courſe would require more profound erudition than I can pretend to poſſeſs, but would furniſh no leſs convincing proofs of the advantages of our climate.

Lobſters and crawfiſh [p] are as common with us as muſcles, oyſters [q], urchins or ſea hedge-hogs [r]; the latter are ſometimes dreſſed with oxymel, parſley, and mint [s]. They are delicious when caught at the full of the moon [t], and by no means deſerve the ill name given them by a Lacedæmonian, who, never having ſeen this kind of ſhell-fiſh, put one of them into his mouth, and ſwallowed it with all its briſtly points [u].

I ſhall ſay nothing of the muſhrooms, the aſparagus [x], the various ſpecies of cucumbers [y], and that infinite variety of vegetables which are brought freſh to market every day; but I cannot omit obſerving that the fruit of our gardens has a moſt exquiſite flavour [z]. The ſuperiority of our figs is univerſally admitted [a]: when freſh gathered, they

[p] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 4, cap. 2, p. 815. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 23, p. 104 et 105. Geſn. de Loc. et de Aſtac. &c.
[q] Athen. ibid. p. 90. Archeſtr. ibid. p. 92.
[r] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 822. Matron. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 135.
[s] Athen. ibid. p. 91.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 88.
[u] Demetr. Scept. ap. Athen. p. 91.
[x] Athen. p. 60, 62, &c.
[y] Id. p. 67.
[z] Ariſtot. Probl. ſect. 20, t. ii. p. 774.
[a] Athen. lib. 14, p. 652.

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are the favourite delicacy of the inhabitants of Attica; and when carefully dried, are exported to distant countries, and find their way even to the table of the king of Persia [b]. Our pickled olives excite the appetite. Those we call colymbades [*] are more esteemed for their size and flavour than the olives of other countries [c]; nor are the grapes, known by the name of Nicostratian, in less repute [d]. The art of grafting [e] bestows on our pears and fruit in general qualities which nature had refused them [f]. Eubœa furnishes us with excellent apples [g]; Phœnicia with dates [h]; Corinth with quinces, as delicious to the taste as they are beautiful to the eye [i]; and Naxos with that kind of almonds which are in high estimation through all Greece [k].

The turn of the parasite being now come, we all redoubled our attention, and he began his harangue as follows:

The bread served at our tables, nay even that exposed to sale in the market, is of a dazzling

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[b] Dinon. ap. eumd. ibid.

[*] The modern Greeks of Athens still call them by the same name; and the Grand Signior has them all monopolized for his own table. Spon, Voyag. t. ii. p. 147.

[c] Athen. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 133.

[d] Id. lib. 14, cap. 19, p. 654.

[e] Aristot. de Plant. lib. 1, cap. 6, t. ii. p. 1016.

[f] Athen. ibid. p. 653.

[g] Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 1, cap. 21, p. 27.

[h] Id. ibid. p. 28. Antiphan. ibid. p. 47.

[i] Athen. lib. 3, p. 82.

[k] Id. p. 52.

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whiteneſs, and an admirable flavour[l]. The art of preparing it was brought to perfection in Sicily, in the laſt century, by Thearion[m]: it has been preſerved among us in all its purity, and has contributed not a little to the progreſs of paſtry. We are at preſent in poſſeſſion of a thouſand methods of converting every ſort of flour into a wholeſome and agreeable nutriment. If a little milk, oil, and ſalt be mixed with the flour of wheat, you will have the materials for thoſe delicate loaves for which we are indebted to the Cappadocians[n]. Knead the dough with a little honey, and roll it into thin ſheets which will run up on approaching a quick fire, and you will produce theſe biſcuits that have been juſt handed to us, and which you have dipped in wine*; but they muſt be ſerved up burning hot[o]. Theſe ſweet and light cakes, which have been ſince preſented to us[p], are made in a ſtove with the flour of ſeſama, honey, and oil †. Take ſome peeled barley; pound it in a mortar, and put the flour in a veſſel; pour oil on it; keep ſtirring this mixture whilſt it heats gently on the fire; feed it now and then with pullet, kid, or lamb gravy, taking ſpecial care not to let it

[l] Archeſtr. et Antiphan. ap. Athen. lib. 3, p. 112.
[m] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 518.
[n] Athen. lib. 3, cap. 28, p. 113.
* Theſe were a ſort of wafers. Caſaub. in Athen. p. 131.
[o] Antidot. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 25, p. 109.
[p] Athen. lib. 14, cap. 14, p. 646.
† A kind of fritters.

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boil over; and when ſtewed to the exact point of perfection, ſerve it up[q]. We have cakes made ſimply of milk and honey[r], others in which the flour of ſeſama and a little cheeſe or oil is added to the honey[s]. We have tarts too made with different ſorts of fruit[t]. Hare paſties are of the ſame nature[u], as well as the pies made of becafigos, and thoſe little birds that fly about the vineyards[x].

Philonides, as he pronounced theſe words, took poſſeſſion of a tart made of raiſins and almonds[y], which was juſt brought in, and would proceed no farther in his oration.

We did not continue long in ſuſpenſe, for Theotimus immediately took up the converſation. Many authors, ſaid he, have written on the culinary art, that firſt of all arts, ſince it is that which procures us the moſt frequent and moſt durable enjoyments. Such were Mithæcus, who has given us the Sicilian Cook[z]; Numenius of Heraclea, Hegemon of Thaſos, Philoxenus of Leucas[a], Actides of Chios, Tindaricus of Sicyon[b], and many others I could mention, for I have all their works

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q Athen. lib. 3, cap. 36, p. 126. Caſaub. in Athen. p. 151.
r Eupol. ap. Athen. lib. 14, cap. 14, p. 646.
s Athen. ibid.
t Id. ibid. 648. Poll. lib. 6, cap. 11, § 78.
u Telecl. ap. Athen. ibid. p. 647 et 648.
x Poll. lib. 6, cap. 11, § 78.
y Id. ibid.
z Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 518.
a Athen. lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 5.
b Id. lib. 14, cap. 23, p. 662. Poll. lib. 6, cap. 10, § 71.

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in my library; but I prefer the Gaſtronomia of Archeſtratus to them all. This author, who was the friend of one of the ſons of Pericles [c], had travelled through various countries, to inform himſelf accurately of all their choiceſt productions [d]. During his travels his object was not to become acquainted with the manners of different nations, a knowledge of no ſort of utility, ſince it is impoſſible to change them; but to procure admiſſion into thoſe laboratories, in which the luxuries of the table are prepared, and to converſe with thoſe perſons only who might contribute to his enjoyments. His poem is a treaſure of information; not a verſe in it but what contains a precept.

This work is, as I may ſay, the code in which ſeveral cooks have ſtudied the principles of an art that has rendered them immortal [e], an art long ſince brought to perfection in Sicily and Elis [f], and which Thimbron, among us, has carried to the ſummit of its glory [g]. I am aware that the perſons who exerciſe it have often, by their pretenſions, deſervedly been ridiculed on the ſtage [h]; but without the enthuſiaſm, they never would have poſſeſſed the genius of their profeſſion.

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[c] Athen. lib. 5, cap. 20, p. 220.
[d] Id. lib. 7, cap. 5, p. 278.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 293.
[f] Id. lib. 14, p. 661.
[g] Id. lib. 7, p. 293.
[h] Damoxen. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 21, p. 101. Philem. ibid. lib. 7, cap. 10, p. 288. Hegeſand. ibid. 290.

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My own cook, whom I have lately ſent for from Syracuſe, aſtoniſhed me the other day with an enumeration of the qualifications and ſtudy requiſite for his employment. After telling me, by the way, that Cadmus, the grandſire of Bacchus, and founder of Thebes, was originally a cook to the king of Sidon[i]; Do you know, added he, that, properly to diſcharge the office I hold, it is not enough to poſſeſs ſenſes exquiſitely refined, and a conſtitution proof againſt every attack[k], but that it is neceſſary to combine the greateſt abilities with the moſt extenſive information[l]. I do not employ myſelf in any of the vile functions of your kitchen; I never appear there but to direct the action of the fire, and to obſerve the effect of my operations. Seated, in general, in an adjacent chamber, I iſſue orders to be executed by ſubordinate artiſts[m]. I meditate on the productions of nature: ſometimes I leave them in their ſimplicity; ſometimes I diſguiſe or mix them, as new proportions which appear beſt calculated to gratify your palate may occur to me. Am I, for inſtance, to give you a ſucking pig, or a large piece of beef; I content myſelf with boiling them[n]. Do you wiſh for an excellent hare; if young, it re-

[i] Evemer. ibid. lib. 14, cap. 22, p. 658.
[k] Poſeid. ibid. lib. 14, p. 661.
[l] Damox. ibid. cap. 22, p. 102.
[m] Damox. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 22, p. 102.
[n] Athen. lib. 2, p. 63; lib. 9, cap. 14. p. 375.

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quires no recommendation but its intrinsic merit to appear before you with approbation: I put it on the spit, and serve it up to you all bleeding [o]. But it is the refinement of combination which displays my science in all its lustre.

The principal agents I make use of are salt, pepper, oil, vinegar, and honey, and of these better than Attica affords cannot be found in any climate. Your oil is excellent [p], as well as your vinegar of Decelia [q]; your honey of Mount Hymettus [r] deserves the preference even to that of Sicily itself. Besides these ingredients, in ragouts [s], we employ eggs, cheese, dried raisins, silphium *, parsley, sesama, cummin, capers, cresses, fennel, mint, coriander, carrots, garlic, onions; and various aromatic plants much in use among us, such as the origanum †, and the exquisite thyme of Mount Hymettus [t]. These, if I may so speak, are powers at the disposal of an artist, but which he should never lavish. If a fish, the flesh of which is firm, be sent to me to dress, I take care to give it a sprinkling of scraped cheese, and to moisten it

[o] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 9, cap. 14, p. 319.
[p] Spon, t. ii. p. 146.
[q] Athen. lib. 2, cap. 26, p. 67.
[r] Antiphan. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 74. Spon, ibid. p. 130.
[s] Athen. lib. 2, cap. 26, p. 68. Poll. lib. 6, cap. 10, § 66.
* A plant but little known, but made great use of by the ancients in their repasts.
† A sort of wild marjoram.
[t] Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 1, p. 28.

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with vinegar; but if it be of a more delicate kind, I only throw a little ſalt over it and a few drops of oil [a]; or, by way of change, after garniſhing it with origanum leaves, I wrap it up in a fig leaf, and broil it under the aſhes [x].

A good cook will not multiply mixtures and expedients, except in ſauces or ragouts; of which we have various ſorts, ſome ſharp and others ſweet. The ſauce that may be ſerved with all boiled or roaſted fiſh [y], is compoſed of vinegar, ſcraped cheeſe, and garlic, to which may be added a few leeks and onions cut ſmall [z]. When you wiſh to have it not ſo ſtrong, it may be mixed up with oil, the yolks of eggs, leeks, garlic, and cheeſe [a]: if you deſire it ſtill milder, honey, dates, cummin, and other ingredients of the ſame nature, may be uſed [b]. But mixtures of this ſort muſt not be left to the caprice of every ignorant pretender.

The ſame may be ſaid of ſtuffings introduced into the belly of a fiſh. Every cook knows that the fiſh muſt be opened, and that after taking out the bones, it ſhould be filled with ſilphium, cheeſe, ſalt, and origanum [c]; he knows likewiſe that a pig

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[a] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 7, cap. 20, p. 321.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 5, p. 278.
[y] Anan. ap. Athen. lib. 7, p. 282.
[z] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 62. Dalech. Not. in Athen. p. 747 et 750.
[a] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 768.
[b] Heſych. in Ὑποτρίμ.
[c] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 7, p. 322.

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may be ſtuffed with thruſhes, becafigos, yolks of eggs, oyſters, and different kinds of ſhell-fiſh [d]. But, believe me, there is no end to the variety of theſe mixtures, and nothing ſhort of very long and profound reſearches will ſuffice to render them equally agreeable to the palate and conducive to health; for my art is allied to all the ſciences *, but more immediately to medicine. Muſt I not be ſuppoſed to know the herbs which, in each ſeaſon, have the moſt juice and virtue? Shall I venture to bring to your table in ſummer a fiſh that ſhould only make its appearance there in winter? Are not certain aliments more eaſy of digeſtion at certain times; and is it not from the preference we give to ſome of theſe over others that the greateſt part of the maladies to which we are ſubject proceed [e]?

At theſe words, Nicocles the phyſician, who had hitherto continued to eat ſilently and indiſcriminately every thing that came in his way, eagerly exclaimed: Your cook proceeds on true principles. Nothing is ſo eſſential as the choice of aliments, nothing requires more attention. This ſhould be regulated, in the firſt place, by the na-

[d] Athen. lib. 4, p. 129.

* The reader may compare the language which the Greek comic writers put into the mouths of the cooks of their time, with that Montaigne gives us, in a few words of the *Maître d'Hôtel* of Cardinal Caraffe, liv. 1, chap. 51.

[e] Nicom. ap. Athen. lib. 7, cap. 11, p. 291.

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ture of the climate, by the variations of the air and seasons, by the differences of age and constitution[f], and next by the more or less nutritive qualities peculiar to the various kinds of meat, fish, vegetables, and fruit. The flesh of beef, for instance, is hard and difficult to digest; that of veal is less so; in like manner the flesh of lamb is lighter than that of mutton, and kid than that of goat[g]. Pork as well as wild boar is deficcatory, but it strengthens and passes easily. Sucking pig is heavy. The flesh of hare is dry and astringent[h]. In general, the flesh of wild animals is less succulent than that of domestic ones; that of animals which feed on fruit than that of those which live on herbs; that of males than that of females; that of black than that of white; and that of crinigerous than that of smooth animals: such is the doctrine of Hippocrates[i].

All liquors, in like manner, have their properties. Wine is dry and heating, and has something purgative in its nature[k]: sweet wines fly to the head[l]; the red are nourishing, the white aperitive; clarets dry and favourable to digestion[m]. Hippocrates tells us that new wines are more lax-

[f] Hippocr. de Diæt. lib. 3, cap. 1, &c. t. i. p. 241.
[g] Id. lib. 2, p. 219, § 15.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 220.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 222, § 20.
[k] Id. lib. 3, p. 223, § 22.
[l] Diocl. et Praxag. ap. Athen. lib. 1, p. 32.
[m] Mnesith. ap. Athen. ibid.

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ative than old, as they approach nearer to the nature of muſt [n]; aromatics are more nutritive than others [o]; your red mellow wines——

Nicocles was continuing his diſſertation; but Dinias, ſuddenly interrupting him, exclaimed, I pay no attention to ſuch diſtinctions, but I baniſh from my table the wines of Zacynthus and of Leucas, becauſe I believe them to be unwholeſome, on account of the plaſter that is mixed with them [p]. I do not like that of Corinth, for it is harſh [q]; nor that of Icaria, becauſe, in addition to this fault, it is heady [r]: I eſteem the old wine of Corcyra, which is exceedingly pleaſant [s], and the white wine of Mende, remarkable for its delicacy [t]. Archilochus compared that of Naxos to nectar [u]; but I ſhould compare the wine of Thaſos to that divine liquor [x]. I prefer it to every kind of wine except that of Chios, when of the firſt quality; for there are three ſorts of it [y].

In Greece we are fond of ſweet and odoriferous

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[n] Hippocr. de Diæt. p. 224.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 223.
[p] Athen. lib. 1, cap. 25, p. 33. Euſtath. in Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 7, t. iii. p. 1573, lin. 25.
[q] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 1, p. 30.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 33.
[t] Id ibid. p. 29.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 30.
[x] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 1022. Schol. ibid. Id. in Lyſiſtr. v. 196. Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Plut. v. 545. Plin. lib. 34, cap. 7, p. 717.
[y] Athen. lib. 1, p. 32. Hermipp. ibid. p. 29.

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wines [z]. In ſome places they ſweeten them by putting flour, kneaded with honey, into the caſk [a]; and almoſt every where origanum [b], aromatics, fruits, and flowers are infuſed in them. My pleaſure is, on opening one of my barrels, to have the odour of violets and roſes inſtantly exhale and fill my cellar [c]; not that I would wiſh to have one ſenſe too much gratified at the expence of another. The wine of Byblos, in Phœnicia, ſurpriſes at firſt by the ſtrength of the perfumes with which it is impregnated: I have a good ſtock of it; yet I hold it greatly inferior to that of Leſbos, which, though leſs highly ſcented, is infinitely more grateful to the palate [d]. Do you wiſh for an agreeable and wholeſome beverage? Mix your fragrant and rich wines with thoſe of an oppoſite quality. Such is the mixture of the wine of Erythræa with that of Heraclea [e].

Sea water mixed with wine is ſaid to aid digeſtion, and prevent the wine from flying to the head; but it muſt not be too predominant, which is the fault of the Rhodian wines; a fault which is avoided in thoſe of Cos [f]. I believe one

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[z] Athen. lib. 1, p. 30.
[a] Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 32.
[b] Ariſtot. Problem. ſect. 20, t. ii. p. 776. Spanh. in Plut. Ariſtophan. v. 809.
[c] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 1, p. 29.
[d] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 1, p. 29.
[e] Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 32.
[f] Athen. ibid.

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meaſure of ſea water is ſufficient for fifty of wine, eſpecially if, in preparing it, the new methods are adopted in preference to the old [g].

Learned reſearches have taught us to mix our liquors with exactneſs. The uſual proportion of wine with water is as two to five, or as one to three [h]; but with our friends we chooſe rather to reverſe this proportion, and towards the end of the entertainment to forget all theſe auſtere rules.

Solon prohibited the uſe of pure wine. Of all his laws, this is perhaps the moſt religiouſly obſerved, thanks to the perfidy of our merchants, who weaken this precious liquor [i]. As for myſelf, I import my own wine, and you may rely upon it, that the law of Solon will be uniformly violated during the whole of this entertainment.

As he ended theſe words, Dinias ſent for ſeveral bottles which had been kept ten years, and which were ſoon followed by others ſtill older [k].

We now drank about almoſt without interruption. Democharès, after giving ſeveral toaſts, took up a lyre, and, whilſt he was tuning it, entertained us with an account of the cuſtom of intermixing ſongs with the pleaſures of the table. Formerly, ſaid he, all the gueſts ſang together, and

[g] Phan. Ereſ. ap. Athen. p. 31.
[h] Heſiod. Oper. v. 596. Athen. lib. 10, p. 426 et 430. Caſaub. in Athen. lib. 10, cap. 7, p. 454. Spanh. in Plut. Ariſtoph. v. 1133.
[i] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 10, cap. 8, p. 431.
[k] Athen. lib. 13, p. 584 et 585.

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in uniſon[l]; but afterwards it became the eſtabliſhed rule for each perſon to ſing in his turn[m], holding a branch of myrtle or laurel in his hand. The mirth was leſs tumultuous indeed, but ceaſed to be ſo lively; and it was ſtill farther reſtrained, when the lyre was introduced to accompany the voice[n], for then ſeveral of the gueſts were abſolutely reduced to ſilence. Themiſtocles was formerly reproached, with juſtice, for having neglected to acquire ſkill in this pleaſing art; in our time Epaminondas has been much commended for having cultivated it[o]. But when too great a value is ſet on ſuch accompliſhments, they become a ſtudy. The art attains perfection at the expence of pleaſure and hilarity, and ſucceſs is only attended with a ſmile.

Convivial ſongs at firſt contained only expreſſions of gratitude, or leſſons of wiſdom. We then celebrated in them, as we do ſtill, the gods, heroes, and citizens who had benefited their country. To ſubjects of ſo grave a nature, in proceſs of time, were added the praiſes of wine; and poetry, employed to depict its pleaſing effects in the moſt lively colours, painted at the ſame time that confuſion of ideas, thoſe tumultuous

[l] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 324.
[m] Athen. lib. 15, cap. 14, p. 694. Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1337.
[n] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 1, quæſt. 1, t. ii. p. 615.
[o] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 234.

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emotions which we experience with our friends at the ſight of the liquor ſparkling in the cups. Hence all thoſe Bacchanalian ſongs, interſperſed with maxims, ſometimes relative to happineſs and virtue, and ſometimes to love and friendſhip. For it is to theſe two ſentiments that the ſoul delights continually to recur, when overpowered with an exceſs of joy.

Several poets have exerciſed their genius in this ſpecies of compoſition, and ſome of them with diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs. Alcæus and Anacreon have given it celebrity. It requires no efforts, for in its nature it is an enemy to artifice. Magnificence of expreſſion and ideas may with propriety be employed to exalt gods and heroes, but it is the excluſive province of enthuſiaſm and the graces to paint ſentiment and pleaſure.

Let us reſign ourſelves then, added Democharès, to the tranſports inſpired by this happy moment; let us ſing all together, or by turns, holding in our hands branches of laurel or of myrtle [p].

We inſtantly obeyed his command, and, after various ſongs ſuitable to the occaſion, ſung in full chorus that of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton [q] *. Democharès accompanied us at intervals; but, ſeized with a new enthuſiaſm, he ſuddenly ex-

[p] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 1367. Id. in Veſp. v. 1217.
[q] Athen. lib. 15, cap. 15, p. 695.
* It was frequently ſung at entertainments. I have already given it in Note IV. of the Introduction.

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claimed: My disobedient lyre rejects such noble themes, and reserves all its notes for the songster of wine and love. How do its strings vibrate at the very name of Anacreon, and send forth more harmonious sounds! O my friends! let the wine circulate in deep bowls; join your voices to mine, and aid me to vary the modulations.

Let us drink, let us sing Bacchus: he delights in our dances, he takes pleasure in our songs; he triumphs over envy, hatred, and chagrin [r]; the seducing graces [s], and the enchanting loves, owe to him their birth. Let us love, let us drink, let us sing Bacchus.

The future does not yet exist; the present is soon no more; life is only the moment we enjoy [t]. Let us love, let us drink, let us sing Bacchus.

Wise in our follies [u], rich in our pleasures, let us trample under foot the earth and its vain grandeur [x]; and, in that delicious intoxication with which these glorious moments inspire our souls, let us drink, let us sing Bacchus.

We now heard a great noise at the gate, and Callicles, Nicostratus, and other young men made their appearance, bringing with them some dancing girls, and female performers on the flute with

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[r] Anacreon, od. 26, 39, 42, &c.
[s] Id. od. 41. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 11.
[t] Id. od. 4, 15, 24, &c.
[u] Id. od. 48.
[x] Id. od. 26.

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whom they had ſupped [y]. Moſt of the company immediately roſe from table, and began to dance; for the Athenians are ſo paſſionately fond of this exerciſe, that they conſider it as a want of politeneſs not to join in it whenever circumſtances require [z]. Several reliſhes for the purpoſe of ſtimulating the appetite were brought in at the ſame time; ſuch as cercopes * and graſshoppers [a], ſliced radiſhes pickled in vinegar and muſtard [b], roaſted vetches [c], and olives taken freſh out of the pickle [d].

This new ſervice, accompanied with a freſh ſtock of wine, and larger goblets than we had hitherto made uſe of [e], ſeemed the prelude to exceſſes which were fortunately interrupted by an unexpected ſcene. On the arrival of Callicles, Theotimus had ſtept out of the room, and now returned, followed by ſome of thoſe jugglers and buffoons, who amuſe the populace by their deceptions in the ſtreets and markets of the city [f].

The table was ſoon after cleared. We made

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[y] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 212. Id. in Protag. t. i. p. 347.

[z] Alexis, ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 134. Theophr. Charact. cap. 15.

* A little animal reſembling a graſshopper. Athen. p. 133.

[a] Ariſtoph. ap. Athen. lib. 4, p. 133.

[b] Athen. ibid. Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 5, cap. 30, t. i. p. 856.

[c] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 45.

[d] Athen. ibid. p. 133.

[e] Diog. Laert. lib. 1, § 104. Caſaub. in Theophr. cap. 4, p. 39.

[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2, t. ii. p. 658. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 1, p. 129.

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libations in honour of the good genius and Jupiter Saviour [g]; and, after washing our hands in perfumed water [h], our sleight-of-hand men began their tricks. One placed a certain number of shells, or little balls, under dice boxes, which he caused to vanish or appear at his command, with such dexterity as to escape the eye [i]. Another wrote or read, at the same time whirling round with the utmost rapidity [k]. Some there were who vomited flames from their mouths, or walked with their heads downwards upon their hands, imitating the motions of dancers with their feet [l]. A woman appeared holding twelve brass hoops in her hand, with several little rings of the same metal strung on their circumference, and while she danced, successively threw into the air and catched the twelve hoops [m]. Another rushed into the midst of several naked swords [n]. These tricks, some of which interested without pleasing me, were almost all performed to the sound of the flute. To succeed in them, it is necessary to unite a graceful neatness to precision of motion.

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[g] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1212. Schol. ejusd. in Pac. v. 299.
[h] Athen. lib. 9, cap. 18, p. 409.
[i] Casaub. in Athen. lib. 1, cap. 15; lib. 4, cap. 1.
[k] Xenoph. in Conv. p. 893.
[l] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 129.
[m] Xenoph. in Conviv. p. 876. Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquit. t. i. p. 202.
[n] Xenoph. ibid. Athen. lib. 4, p. 129. Paciaud. de Athlet. Ludis. § 5, p. 18.

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NOTES.

CHAP. I. PAGE 6.

On the Privileges mutually granted to each other by Leucon and the Athenians.

THAT theſe privileges might be known to all perſons engaged in commerce, they were engraved on three columns, the firſt of which was placed in the Piræus; the ſecond, at the Boſphorus of Thrace; and the third, at the Cimmerian Boſphorus, that is to ſay, at the beginning, in the middle, and at the termination of the courſe purſued by the trading veſſels (*a*).

CHAP. III. PAGE 64.

On Sappho.

THE part of the Parian Chronicle which mentions Sappho, is almoſt entirely obliterated on the marble (*b*); but we read very diſtinctly that ſhe fled, and embarked for Sicily. It was not therefore to follow Phaon, as it is pre-

(*a*) Demoſth. adv. Leptin. p. 546.
(*b*) Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 37.

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tended, that ſhe went to that iſland. It is probable that Alcæus engaged her in the conſpiracy againſt Pittacus, and that ſhe was baniſhed from Mitylene, at the ſame time with him and his partizans.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 67.

On the Ode of Sappho.

Heureux celui qui près de toi ſoupire,
Qui ſur lui ſeul attire ces beaux yeux,
Ces doux accens et ce tendre ſourire!
Il eſt égal aux dieux.
De veine en veine une ſubtile flâme
Court dans mon ſein, ſitôt que je te vois;
Et dans le trouble où s'égaré mon âme,
Je demeure ſans voix.
Je n'entends plus; un voile eſt ſur ma vue:
Je rêve, et tombe en de douces langueurs;
Et ſans haleine, interdite, éperdue,
Je tremble, je me meurs.

ON reading this free tranſlation, for which I am indebted to the friendſhip of the abbé Delille, it will eaſily be perceived that he has thought proper to avail himſelf of that of Boileau, and that his ſole object was to give ſome idea of the ſpecies of meaſure invented, or at leaſt frequently employed by Sappho. In the greater part of her works, each ſtrophe was compoſed of hendecaſyllabic verſes, that is verſes of eleven ſyllables, and cloſed by a verſe of five ſyllables.

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CHAP. V. PAGE 82.

On Epaminondas.

CLEARCHUS of Solus, cited by Athenæus (*c*), relates a fact capable of rendering the purity of the morals of Epaminondas ſuſpected: but this fact, which is only obſcurely hinted, would contradict the united teſtimony of all antiquity, and can by no means be reconciled with the rigid principles from which this great man never deviated, even in the moſt critical circumſtances.

CHAP. IX. PAGE 163.

On the time of celebrating the greater feſtivals of Bacchus.

IT is preſumed that the greater Dionyſia, or Dionyſia of the city, began on the 12th of the month Elaphebolion (*d*). In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the year in queſtion, the 12th of the month Elaphebolion fell on the 8th of April of the Julian proleptic year 362.

CHAP. XII. PAGE 201.

On the Plan of Athens.

I THOUGHT it not improper to lay before the reader the ſketch of a plan of Athens, relatively to the time in

(*c*) Athen. lib. 13, cap. 6, p. 590.
(*d*) Dodwel. de Cycl. p. 298. Id. Ann. Thucyd. p. 165. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. ii. p. 326 et 385.

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which I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have travelled. It is extremely imperfect, and I am very far from being able to warrant its exactneſs.

After comparing what ancient authors have ſaid reſpecting the topography of this city, with what modern travellers have imagined they diſcovered in its ruins, I have only attempted to aſcertain, as accurately as I was able, the poſition of ſome remarkable places and edifices. To accompliſh this, it was firſt neceſſary to determine in what quarter the forum, called the *agora*, that is to ſay market, by the Greeks, was ſituated.

In all the Grecian cities, there was a principal place, or ſquare, decorated with ſtatues, altars, temples, and other public edifices, ſurrounded by ſhops, and filled at certain hours of the day with the proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the people. The inhabitants reſorted thither every day. The twenty thouſand citizens of Athens, ſays Demoſthenes (*e*), never ceaſe to frequent the forum, occupied either with their own affairs, or with thoſe of the ſtate.

Among ancient authors, I have preferred the teſtimonies of Plato, Xenophon, Demoſthenes, and Æſchines, who lived at the time I have choſen. Should Pauſanias (*f*) appear in ſome degree to differ from them, I apprize the reader that it is the forum as it exiſted in their time, and not that he ſpeaks of, which is the ſubject of the preſent enquiry. The ſame anſwer I ſhould make to thoſe who might oppoſe paſſages to me relative to periods too remote from the time of which I ſpeak.

THE FORUM, or AGORA. The poſition of this place is determined by the ſubſequent paſſages. Æſchines ſays (*g*): "Imagine yourſelf in the pœcile (a celebrated portico), for

(*e*) Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 836.
(*f*) Pauſan. lib. 1.
(*g*) Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 458.

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in the forum are the monuments of your great achievements." Lucian introduces ſeveral philoſophers in one of his dialogues (*b*), and makes Plato ſay: "It is unneceſſary to go to the houſe of that woman (Philoſophy). On her return from the academy, ſhe will come, according to cuſtom, to the Ceramicus, in order to walk in the Pœcile." "At the taking of Athens, by Sylla," ſays Plutarch (*i*), "the blood ſpilt in the forum deluged the Ceramicus, which is within the gate Dipylon; and many perſons affirm that it flowed out of the gate, and ſpread even over the ſuburb."

Hence it follows, 1ſt. That this place was ſituated in the quarter of the Ceramicus: 2dly. that it was near the gate Dipylon; the gate which led to the academy: 3dly. that the Pœcile was in that place.

Æſchines, in the paſſage I have quoted, gives us clearly to underſtand that the Metroon was likewiſe in that place. This was an encloſure and temple in honour of the mother of the gods. Within its precincts alſo ſtood the palace of the ſenate, a circumſtance confirmed by many paſſages (*k*).

Next to the Metroon, I have placed the edifices and monuments immediately indicated by Pauſanias (*l*), as the Tholus, the ſtatues of the Eponymi, &c. Taking Herodotus (*m*) for my guide, I have placed there the temple of Æacus; and following Demoſthenes (*n*), the Leocorion, a temple built in honour of the daughters of Leos, who formerly ſacrificed themſelves, to free the city from the plague.

(*b*) Lucian. in Piſcat. t. i. p. 581.
(*i*) Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 460.
(*k*) Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 458. Plut. Vit. X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 842. Suid. in Μητρῷον. Harpocr. in ὁ Καθεδεῖος.
(*l*) Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 12.
(*m*) Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 89.
(*n*) Demoſth. in Conon. p. 1109 et 1113.

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ROYAL PORTICO. I have placed this at the junction of two ſtreets leading to the forum. The firſt is pointed out by Pauſanias (*o*), who proceeds from this portico to the Metroon; the ſecond by an ancient author (*p*), who poſitively ſays, that from the Pœcile to the Royal Portico, that is to ſay, between one portico and the other, we meet with ſeveral Hermæ, or ſtatues of Mercury terminated in a ſheath.

POECILE AND PORTICO OF THE HERMÆ. From this laſt paſſage I have placed the Pœcile at the end of a ſtreet which goes from the Royal Portico to the forum, and at one of the corners of the ſtreet fronting the forum. On the oppoſite corner ſhould be an edifice, ſometimes called the Portico of the Hermæ, and ſometimes ſimply by the name of the Hermæ (*q*). To prove that it was in the forum, it will be ſufficient to adduce two teſtimonies. Mneſimachus in one of his comedies has ſaid: "Begone to the Agora, to the Hermæ (*r*)." "On certain feſtivals," ſays Xenophon (*s*), "it is fitting that the horſemen ſhould pay due honours to the temples and the ſtatues which are in the Agora. They ſhall begin at the Hermæ, make the circuit of the Agora, and return to the Hermæ." I have hence ſuppoſed, that this portico might terminate the ſtreet along which were ranged a ſeries of Hermæ.

The Pœcile was in the forum, in the time of Æſchines, but was ſo no longer in the time of Pauſanias, who ſpeaks of this portico previous to his viſiting the Agora (*t*); alterations had been made therefore in this quarter. I ſup-

(*o*) Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 3.
(*p*) Ap. Harpocr. in Ἑρμαῖ.
(*q*) Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 458. Lyſ. in Pancl. p. 398. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 557. Meurſ. Athen. Attic. lib. 1, cap. 3.
(*r*) Mneſim. ap. Athen. lib. 9, cap. 15, p. 402.
(*s*) Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 959.
(*t*) Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 15, p. 36; cap. 17, p. 39.

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poſe that in the age when Pauſanias lived, one part of the ancient forum was covered with houſes; that towards its ſouthern part only one ſtreet was remaining, in which were the ſenate-houſe, the Tholus, &c.; that the oppoſite part had extended towards the north, and that the Pœcile had been ſeparated from it by buildings: for the changes I have mentioned had not removed the forum to another part of the city. Pauſanias mentions it as near the Pœcile, and we have ſeen that in the time of Sylla it was ſtill in the Ceramicus, near to the gate Dipylon.

From theſe obſervations it will not be difficult to trace out the path taken by Pauſanias. From the Royal Portico he follows a ſtreet extending along the ſouthern part of the ancient forum; he returns by the ſame way, and viſits ſome monuments which are to the ſouth-weſt of the citadel, ſuch as an edifice which he takes for the ancient Odéum (p. 20), the Eleuſinium (p. 35), &c. He then returns to the Royal Portico (p. 36), and following the ſtreet of the Hermæ, firſt repairs to the Pœcile, and afterward to the forum exiſting in his time (p. 39), which, according to appearances, had formed part of the ancient one, or at leaſt was at no great diſtance from it. I ſhould be much inclined to attribute the changes it had undergone to the emperor Adrian.

On leaving the Agora, Pauſanias proceeds to the gymnaſium of Ptolemy (p. 39), which did not exiſt in the age referred to in my work; and from thence to the temple of Theſeus which is ſtill remaining. The diſtance from this temple to one of the points of the citadel was given me by M. Foucherot, an able engineer, who accompanied the Comte de Choiſeul Gouffier into Greece, and who, having ſince viſited the antiquities of Athens a ſecond time, has

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been so obliging as to communicate to me all the information he has acquired from an inspection of the places.

I have followed Pausanias as far as the Prytaneum (p. 41). From thence he appears to me to have re-ascended towards the north-east, where he finds several temples, those of Serapis, of Lucina, and of Jupiter Olympius (p. 42). He then turns to the eastward, and traverses a quarter which is without the city, in my plan, and which belonged to it in his time, the walls having been destroyed. He there visits the gardens of Venus, the Cynosarges, and the Lycæum (p. 44); and afterwards crosses the Ilissus, and proceeds to the Stadium (p. 45 et 46).

I have not accompanied Pausanias in this track, because several of the monuments he there met with were posterior to the time I have chosen, and the others cannot be admitted into the plan of the city within the walls: but I again take him for a guide, when, on his return to the Prytaneum, he proceeds to the citadel, by the street of the Tripods.

Street of the Tripods. This street received its name, according to Pausanias (*u*), because in it were several temples containing tripods of bronze in honour of the gods; which were dedicated in consequence of victories gained by the tribes of Athens in competitions of music and dancing. Now, at the foot of the citadel, to the eastward, several inscriptions have been discovered which make mention of such victories (*x*). That beautiful structure, known at present by the name of the Lanthern of Demosthenes, constituted one of the principal ornaments of the street. It was built of marble, on occasion of the prize decreed to the tribe of Acamantis,

(*u*) Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 46.
(*x*) Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 99. Id. Inscript. in Not. p. xxvii.

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under the archonſhip of Avsenetus (*y*), in the year 335 before Chriſt, one year after Anacharſis had quitted Athens. Near this monument an inſcription has been found in theſe later times, given among thoſe collected by Mr. Chandler (*z*). In it the tribe Pandionis decreed a column to be erected, in the edifice belonging to them in this ſtreet, for an Athenian, named Nicias, who had been their choregus, and had obtained the palm at the feſtivals of Bacchus, and at thoſe named Thargelia. It further declares, that from that time (from the archonſhip of Euclid, in the year 403 before Chriſt), the names of ſuch of the tribe as ſhould gain ſimilar advantages, on certain feſtivals mentioned in the decree, ſhould be inſcribed on the ſame column.

From what I have ſaid, it is evident that the ſtreet of the Tripods extended along the eaſtern ſide of the citadel.

THE ODEUM OF PERICLES. At the end of the ſtreet I have been ſpeaking of, and before he came to the theatre of Bacchus, Pauſanias found an edifice of which he does not tell us the deſtination. He only obſerves that it was built after the model of the tent of Xerxes, and that having been burnt by Sylla during the ſiege of Athens, it was afterwards rebuilt (*a*.) Let us compare with this teſtimony what we find in other authors concerning the ancient Odéum of Athens. This theatre (*b*) was erected by Pericles (*c*), and intended for muſical competitions (*d*): the roof, which was conſtructed of the maſts and yards of the

(*y*) Spon, t. ii. p. 100. Wheel. book 5, p. 397. Le Roi, Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce, part. 1, p. 20. Stuart, Antiquities of Athens, chap. 4, p. 27.
(*z*) Chandl. Inſcript. part 2, p. 49. Ibid. in Not. p. xxii.
(*a*) Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 47.
(*b*) Suid. in Ωιδ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 1104.
(*c*) Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160. Vitruv. lib. 5, cap. 9. Suid. ibid.
(*d*) Heſych. in Ωιδ.

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veſſels taken from the Perſians (*e*), and in its form imitated the tent of Xerxes (*f*), was ſupported by columns of ſtone or marble. Its ſhape had furniſhed a ſubject for many pleaſantries. Cratinus the poet, in one of his comedies, wiſhing to ſignify that the head of Pericles was of a pointed ſhape, ſaid that Pericles wore the Odéum on his head (*g*). The Odéum was burnt at the ſiege of Athens by Sylla (*h*), and ſoon after reſtored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia (*i*).

From theſe paſſages, collected from different authors, it is very evident that the edifice ſpoken of by Pauſanias is the ſame with the Odéum of Pericles; and from the paſſage of Pauſanias, that this Odéum was ſituated between the ſtreet of the Tripods, and the theatre of Bacchus. This poſition is confirmed likewiſe by the authority of Vitruvius, who places the Odéum to the left of the theatre (*k*). But it may be ſaid that Pauſanias had already given the name of Odéum to another ſtructure. I ſhall ſoon reply to that objection.

THEATRE OF BACCHUS. On the ſouth-weſt angle of the citadel, the ruins of a theatre ſtill exiſt, which had always been taken for that of Bacchus, in which tragedies and comedies were repreſented. Dr. Chandler, however (*l*), has placed the theatre of Bacchus at the ſouth-eaſt angle of the citadel; and I have followed his opinion, for ſeveral reaſons. 1ſt. From obſervation of the ground, Mr. Chandler is of opinion that a theatre had formerly ſtood there; and

(*e*) Vitruv. lib. 5, cap. 9. Theophr. Charact. cap. 3.
(*f*) Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.
(*g*) Cratin. ap. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.
(*h*) Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. p. 331.
(*i*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. Hiſt. p. 189.
(*k*) Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9.
(*l*) Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 64.

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M. Foucherot has ſince verified the fact. 2dly. Pauſanias (*m*) relates, that above the theatre was to be ſeen in his time a tripod, in a grotto hewn out of the rock; now preciſely above the ſpot where Mr. Chandler has ſuppoſed the theatre to have ſtood, is a grotto formed out of the rock, and ſince converted into a church, under the title of *Panagia Spiliotiſſa*, which may be rendered *Our Lady of the Grotto*. Let it be obſerved too, that the word *ſpiliotiſſa* clearly deſignates the word σπηλαίον, which Pauſanias employs to ſignify this cavern. The reader may here conſult what travellers have ſaid of this grotto (*n*). It is true that above the other theatre, to the ſouth-weſt, there are two ſorts of niches, but it is impoſſible in any way to confound them with the grotto mentioned by Pauſanias. 3dly. Xenophon (*o*), when ſpeaking of the exerciſe of the cavalry, which was performed at, or rather near to, the Lycæum, ſays: "When the horſemen ſhall have paſſed the angle of the theatre, which is oppoſite, &c.:" the theatre then was on the ſide of the Lycæum. 4thly. I have ſaid, that at the principal feſtivals of the Athenians, choruſes, taken from each tribe, diſputed with each other the palm in dancing and muſic; that a tripod was beſtowed on the victorious tribe which was conſecrated to the gods; that underneath this offering was engraven the name of the tribe, that of the citizen who had maintained the chorus at his expence, and ſometimes that of the poet who had compoſed the verſes, or the teacher who had exerciſed the performers (*p*). I have ſaid likewiſe, that in the time of Pauſanias there exiſted a tripod in the grotto which was above the theatre. Even at pre-

(*m*) Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 21, p. 49.
(*n*) Wheel. a Journey, &c. p. 368. Spon, t. ii. p. 97. Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 62.
(*o*) Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 959.
(*p*) Plut. in Themiſtocl. t. i. p. 114.

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ſent we ſee at the entrance of this grotto a kind of triumphal arch, bearing three inſcriptions of different periods, in honour of two tribes who had gained a prize (*q*). One of theſe inſcriptions is of the year 320 before Chriſt, and poſterior only by a few years to the travels of Anacharſis.

Since we find at the extremity of the Acropolis, and on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, monuments erected for thoſe who had been crowned at the competitions uſual at the theatre (*r*), we are juſtified in preſuming that the theatre of Bacchus was ſituated at the termination of the ſtreet of the Tripods, and preciſely at the ſpot where Mr. Chandler has ſuppoſed it. For, as I have already obſerved, in Chap. XII. the trophies of the victors would naturally be near the field of battle.

The authors who lived at the period I have choſen, ſpeak only of one theatre; for that, the ruins of which are ſeen at the ſouth-weſt angle of the citadel, did not exiſt in their time. I concur with Mr. Chandler, in ſuppoſing the latter to be the odéum which Herodes, the ſon of Atticus, built five hundred years after, and on which Philoſtratus beſtows the name of Theatre (*s*). "The odéum of Patræ," ſays Pauſanias (*t*), "would be the moſt beautiful of any in Greece, were it not eclipſed by that of Athens, which ſurpaſſes every other in magnitude and magnificence. It was erected by Herodes the Athenian, after the death, and in honour of, his wife. In my deſcription of Attica I have omitted this odéum, becauſe I had finiſhed my account of Athens before Herodes had begun the building." Philoſtratus remarks likewiſe that the theatre of Herodes was one of the moſt beautiful edifices in the world (*u*).

(*q*) Wheel. a Journey, &c p. 368. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. ii p. 5.
(*r*) Demoſt. in Mid. p. 606 et 612.
(*s*) Philoſtr. de Vit. Sophiſt. in Herod. lib. 2, p. 551.
(*t*) Pauſan. lib. 7, cap. 20, p. 574.
(*u*) Philoſtr. ibid.

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Mr. Chandler ſuppoſes the odéum, or theatre of Herodes, to have been erected on the ruins of the odéum of Pericles. I cannot be of his opinion. Pauſanias, who places the latter edifice elſewhere, does not, in ſpeaking of the former, ſay that Herodes rebuilt it, but that he built it, ἐποίησεν. On Mr. Chandler's hypotheſis, the ancient odéum would have been on the right of the theatre of Bacchus; whereas, according to Vitruvius, it was on the left (*x*). Beſides I have already ſhewn that the odéum of Pericles was at the ſouth-eaſt angle of the citadel.

We may now conceive the reaſon why Pauſanias, while proceeding along the ſouthern ſide of the citadel, from the ſouth-eaſt angle, where he found the theatre of Bacchus, ſays nothing either of the odéum, or of a theatre of any kind: for the fact is that there exiſted none at the ſouth-weſt angle, at the time he wrote his firſt book, which treats of Attica.

Pnyx. Situated on an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the citadel, we ſtill ſee the remains of a monument which has been ſometimes taken for the Areopagus (*y*), ſometimes for the Pnyx (*z*), and at others for the Odéum (*a*). It is a large ſpace, the encloſure of which is partly cut out of the rock, and partly compoſed of huge blocks of ſtone, hewn diamond faſhion. With Mr. Chandler, I take it to be the ſquare of the Pnyx, where the people occaſionally held their aſſemblies. And indeed the Pnyx was ſurrounded by a wall (*b*), and ſituated oppoſite to the Areopagus (*c*). From this place there was a view of the harbour of Pi-

(*x*) Vitruv. lib. 5, cap. 9.
(*y*) Spon, Voyag. t. ii. p. 116.
(*z*) Chandl. Travels in Greece, chap. 13, p. 68.
(*a*) Wheel. book 5, p. 382. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce. t. i. p. 18.
(*b*) Philocor. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 998.
(*c*) Lucian. in Bis Accuſat. t. ii. p. 801.

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ræus (*d*). All theſe marks apply to the antiquity in queſtion. But there is another ſtill more deciſive evidence: "When the people are ſeated on this rock," ſays Ariſtophanes, &c. (*e*); and it is of the Pnyx that he is ſpeaking. I omit other proofs which might be adduced in ſupport of theſe.

Pauſanias however ſeems to have taken this monument for the Odéum. What muſt we conclude from this?—That in his time the Pnyx, of which he does not ſo much as ſpeak, had changed its name, becauſe the people having ceaſed to aſſemble there, the muſical competitions had been tranſferred to this place. By comparing with each other all the notices to be collected on this head, we ſhall be led to conclude that this trial of ſkill originally took place in an edifice built at the ſouth-eaſt angle of the citadel, which is the odéum of Pericles: afterwards in the Pnyx, the odéum ſpoken of by Pauſanias; and finally in the theatre, a part of which is ſtill remaining at the ſouth-weſt angle of the citadel, the odéum of Herodes, the ſon of Atticus.

Temple of Jupiter Olympius. To the north of the citadel, ſome magnificent ruins ſtill ſubſiſt, which attract the attention of all travellers. Some (*f*) have imagined that they diſcovered in them the remains of the ſuperb temple of the Olympian Jupiter, begun by Piſiſtratus, which was more than once attempted to be completed, the columns of which were conveyed to Rome by Sylla, and which was finally rebuilt by Adrian (*g*). Their conjectures are founded on the deſcription of Pauſanias, which does indeed ſeem to indicate this poſition (*h*); but Thucy-

(*d*) Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 121.
(*e*) Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 751.
(*f*) Wheel. book 5, p. 392. Spon, t. ii. p. 108.
(*g*) Meurſ. Athen. Attic. lib. 1, cap. 10.
(*h*) Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 18, p. 42.

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dides (*i*) expreſsly ſays, that this temple was to the ſouth of the citadel; and his teſtimony is accompanied with particulars which will not allow us to adopt the correction that Valla and Palmerius propoſed to make in the text of Thucydides. Mr. Stuart (*k*) has availed himſelf of the authority of this hiſtorian, to place the temple of Jupiter Olympius to the ſouth-eaſt of the citadel, on a ſpot where ſome large columns, commonly called the Columns of Adrian, are ſtill to be ſeen. His opinion has been combated by M. Le Roi (*l*), who takes the columns in queſtion for the remains of a pantheon of that emperor. Notwithſtanding the deference I have for the diſcernment of theſe two learned travellers, I had at firſt ſuſpected, that the temple of Jupiter Olympius, placed by Thucydides to the ſouth of the citadel, was an ancient temple, which, according to a tradition, related by Pauſanias (*m*), was built in the remoteſt ages by Deucalion, and that the temple on the northern ſide had been founded by Piſiſtratus. This ſuppoſition would reconcile Thucydides with Pauſanias; but as new difficulties would reſult from it, I determined to lay down at a venture, in my plan, a temple of Jupiter Olympius to the ſouth of the citadel.

Mr. Stuart has taken the ruins to the northward for the remains of the Pœcile (*n*); but I hope I have proved that this celebrated portico was a part of the forum, ſituated near to the gate Dipylon. Beſides, the edifice of which theſe ruins formed a part, ſeems to have been built in the time of Adrian (*o*), and conſequently is foreign from my plan.

(*i*) Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 15.
(*k*) Stuart, Antiq. of Athens, chap. 5, p. 38.
(*l*) Le Roi, Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 21.
(*m*) Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 18, p. 43.
(*n*) Stuart, ibid.
(*o*) Le Roi, Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 16.

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THE STADIUM. I have not assigned the situation of this in my plan, because I imagine it to have been posterior to the times of which I treat. It appears, that in the age of Xenophon, it was usual to exercise in running, in a course, perhaps on a road which began at the Lycæum, and extended towards the south, and under the walls of the city (*p*). Some time after, the orator Lycurgus caused a piece of ground, which one of his friends had given to the republic, to be levelled, and surrounded by causeways (*q*). Afterwards, Herodes, the son of Atticus, rebuilt and almost lined with marble the stadium, the ruins of which still subsist (*r*).

THE WALLS OF THE CITY. I omit to discuss many questions that might be started relative to the walls which surrounded the Piræus, and Munychia, and those which from the Piræus and Phalerum terminated at the walls of Athens; and I shall only say a word respecting the circumference of the city. It is impossible to determine its form, but we are able pretty nearly to ascertain its extent. Thucydides (*s*), when enumerating the troops necessary to guard the walls, says, that the part of them necessary to be defended was 43 stadia in length, and that one part remained which stood in no need of defence, namely, that which lay between the two points where the wall of Phalerum on the one side, and that of the Piræus on the other, terminated in the city wall. The scholiast on Thucydides assigns for the length of this part 17 stadia, and consequently reckons for the whole circumference of the city 60 stadia (or about two leagues and a quarter). Were we

(*p*) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2, p. 476. Id. de Magist. Equit. p. 959.
(*q*) Lycurg. Vit. X. Rhet. ap. Plut. t. ii. p. 841.
(*r*) Pausan. lib. 1, cap. 19, p. 46. Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. lib. 2, p. 550.
(*s*) Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13.

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to adopt this menſuration, the wall of Phalerum would reach as far as the Lycæum, which is not poſſible. Some conſiderable error muſt have crept into the ſcholiaſt.

I have relied in this particular, as well as in the laying down of the long walls, and the environs of Athens, on the ſagacity of M. Barbié, who, after carefully ſtudying the topography of this city, has been ſo obliging as to execute the feeble eſſay which I preſent to the public. As we differ on ſome capital points concerning the interior parts, it is not juſt that he ſhould be anſwerable for the errors that may be diſcovered in this part of the plan. I might alſo have covered it with houſes, but it would have been impoſſible to diſtribute them into ſtreets.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 213.

On two Inſcriptions given in this Chapter.

I HAVE rendered the word ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕ, in the Greek text, by theſe words, *compoſed the piece, wrote the tragedy.* Yet as it ſometimes ſignifies, *had prepared or inſtructed the actors*, I will not anſwer for my tranſlation. Concerning this word the reader may refer to the notes of Caſaubon on Athenæus (lib. 6, cap. 7, p. 260); thoſe of Taylor on the Sandwich Marble (p. 71); Van Dale on the Gymnaſia (p. 686); and others.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 223.

On the Manner of lighting the Temples.

THE temples had no windows; ſome received light only by the door; in others, lamps were ſuſpended before

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the principal ſtatue (*t*); others again were divided into three aiſles, by two ranges of columns. The middle aiſle was entirely open, and ſufficed to admit light into the ſide aiſles which were covered (*u*). The grand arcades which we diſcover in the lateral parts of a temple ſtill ſubſiſting among the ruins of Agrigentum (*x*) have been laid open long after it was built.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 224.

On the Internal Columns of the Temples.

IT appears that the temples of the Greeks were at firſt very ſmall. When their dimenſions were increaſed, the roof was ſupported by a ſingle range of columns within-ſide, above which were others that reached to the roof. This was the method employed in one of thoſe ancient temples, the ruins of which I have ſeen at Pæſtum.

In proceſs of time, inſtead of one row of columns they erected two; and then the temples became divided into three aiſles. Such was the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, as Pauſanias tells us (*y*); and that of Minerva at Athens, as M. Foucherot has aſcertained by obſervations on the ſpot. The temple of Minerva at Tegea in Arcadia, built by Scopas, was of the ſame kind. Pauſanias informs us (*z*), that of the internal columns, the firſt order was Doric, and the ſecond Corinthian.

(*t*) Strab. lib. 9. p. 396. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 26, p. 63.
(*u*) Strab. lib. 9, p. 396. Vitruv. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 41.
(*x*) D'Orville, Sicula, cap. 5, p. 97.
(*y*) Pauſan. lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 400.
(*z*) Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 45, p. 693.

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SAME CHAP. PAGE 225.

On the Proportions of the Parthenon.

ACCORDING to M. Le Roi (*a*), the length of this temple was 214 feet, 10 inches, and 4 lines *; and its height, 65 feet (French)†. Let us convert these measures into Grecian feet, and we shall have about 227 feet for its length, and for its height about 68 feet 7 inches. As to its breadth, that seems to be indicated by the name hécatonpédon (100 feet), which the ancients bestowed upon this temple. And M. Le Roi found, in fact, that the frize of the front was 94 feet 10 inches ‡, which corresponds with 100 Grecian feet (*b*).

SAME CHAP. PAGE 227.

On the Quantity of Gold employed in the Statue of Minerva.

THUCYDIDES says (*c*) 40 talents; other authors (*d*) say 44; others again, 50 (*e*). I follow the testimony of Thucydides. Supposing that in his time, the proportion of gold to silver was as 1 to 13, as it was in the time of Herodotus, the 40 talents of gold would give 520 talents of silver, which at 5400 livres the talent, would produce a

(*a*) Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part. 1, p. 30; part. 2, pl. xx.
(*) 229 feet 2 inches English.
(†) 69 feet 4 inches Eng.
(‡) 101 feet 1 inch Eng.
(*b*) Le Roi, ibid. p. 29.
(*c*) Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 13.
(*d*) Philochor. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 604.
(*e*) Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 96.

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total of 2,808,000 livres. But, as in the age of Pericles, the drachma was worth at leaſt 19 ſols (9½d.), and the talent of ſilver 5700 livres (237l. 10s.), (ſee the note which accompanies the table of the value of the Greek money, in vol. vii. of this work), the 40 talents in queſtion were worth at leaſt 2,964,000 livres (or 123,500 l. ſterling).

SAME CHAP. PAGE 228.

On the Manner in which the Gold was diſtributed on the Statue of Minerva.

THE goddeſs was habited in a long tunic, which muſt have been of ivory. The ægis or ſkin of the goat Amalthæa covered her breaſt, and probably her left arm, as we ſee on ſome of her ſtatues. The borders of the ægis were ſurrounded by ſerpents; and in the field of the buckler, covered with the ſcales of ſerpents, appeared the head of Meduſa. Thus is the ægis repreſented on monuments and in ancient authors (*f*). But Iſocrates, who was ſtill living at the period in which I ſuppoſe the younger Anacharſis to have travelled in Greece, obſerves (*g*) that the gorgonium had been ſtolen; and Suidas (*h*), ſpeaking of the ſame fact, adds that it was forced off from the ſtatue of Minerva. From a paſſage of Plutarch (*i*) it appears that by this expreſſion we muſt underſtand the ægis.

Let us now ſee of what the ægis taken from the ſtatue was compoſed. Not to mention that no perſon would have ſtole it, had it not been of precious materials, Philochorus

(*f*) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 8, v. 436.
(*g*) Iſocr. adv. Callim. t. ii. p. 511.
(*h*) Suid. in Φιδίας.
(*i*) Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 117.

informs

informs us (*k*) that the robbery complained of, reſpected the ſcales and the ſerpents. The queſtion here has no connection with a ſerpent which the artiſt had placed at the feet of the goddeſs. That was only an acceſſory, an attribute that required no magnificence; and Philochorus ſpeaks of ſerpents in the plural.

From theſe circumſtances I conclude, that Phidias had made the ſcales which covered the ægis, and the ſerpents ſuſpended around it, of gold. This is confirmed by Pauſanias (*l*), who ſays that Minerva had on her breaſt a head of Meduſa in ivory: an unneceſſary remark, if the ægis was of the ſame ſubſtance, and the head not relieved by the ground of gold to which it was affixed. The wings of the Victory which Minerva held in her hand, were likewiſe of gold. Some robbers who had got into the temple, found means to detach them; and betrayed themſelves by quarrelling about the diviſion of their booty (*m*).

From different teſtimonies, which I omit to adduce, it may be preſumed that the baſſo-relievos of the helmet, the buckler, the buſkins, and perhaps of the pedeſtal, were of the ſame metal. The greater part of theſe ornaments were ſtill in exiſtence at the period I have choſen. They were carried off ſome time after, by a perſon named Lachares (*n*).

CHAP. XIV. PAGE 245.

On the Preſidents of the Senate of Athens.

EVERY thing relative to the officers of the ſenate, and their functions, is attended with ſo many difficulties, that I

(*k*) Philochor. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 604.
(*l*) Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 24, p. 58.
(*m*) Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 792. Ulpian. ibid. p. 821
(*n*) Pauſan. ibid. cap. 25, p. 61.

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ſhall content myſelf with referring my readers to the learned authors who have diſcuſſed the ſubject, as Sigonius (de Republ. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 4); Petav. (de Doctrin. Temp. lib. 2, cap. 1); Dodwell. (de Cycl. differt. 3, § 43); Sam. Pet. (Leg. Attic. p. 188); and Corſin. (Faſt. Attic. t. i. differt. 6).

SAME CHAP. PAGE 252.

On the Decrees of the Senate and of the People of Athens.

NOTHING was executed but by virtue of the laws and of decrees (o); the difference of which conſiſted in this, that the laws were obligatory on all the citizens, and perpetually binding; whereas the decrees, properly ſo called, reſpected only individuals, and were but of temporary operation. It was by a decree that ambaſſadors were diſpatched, crowns beſtowed on citizens, &c. When the decree was of ſuch a nature as to comprehend all times and perſons, it then became a law.

CHAP. XVII. PAGE 291.

On a ſingular Deciſion of the Areopagus.

TO the fact I have given in the text, another may be added, which occurred long after, and in an age when, though Athens had loſt all her glory, that of the Areopagus

(o) Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 787.

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ſtill ſhone in its meridian ſplendour. A woman of Sicyon, exaſperated at the barbarity of a ſecond huſband, and of a ſon ſhe had by him, who ſlew a promiſing youth ſhe had borne by her former ſpouſe, determined to poiſon them both. After a proſecution before ſeveral tribunals that neither ventured to condemn nor to acquit her, the matter was brought before the Areopagus, which, after a long examination, ordered the parties to appear again before the court in one hundred years from that time (*p*).

CHAP. XX. PAGE 315.

On the Game of Dice.

M. DE PEIRESC had in his poſſeſſion an antique calendar, ornamented with drawings. At the month of January a man was repreſented holding a dice box in his hand, and throwing the dice into a ſort of a tower, placed on the edge of a chequer-board (*q*).

SAME CHAP. PAGE 333.

Prices of various Articles of Merchandize.

IN the text I have given the price of ſome articles of proviſions, ſuch as it was at Athens, in the time of Demoſthenes. About 60 years before, in the time of Ariſtophanes, a workman's pay was 3 oboli (9 ſols, or four pence halfpenny) (*r*); a race-horſe was worth 12 minæ, or 1200

(*p*) Val. Max. lib. 8, cap. 1. Aulus Gellius, lib. 12, cap. 7; et alii.
(*q*) Valeſ. in Harpocr. p. 79.
(*r*) Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 310.

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drachmas (1080 livres, or 45 l.) (*s*); a mantle, 20 drachmas (18 livres, or 15 ſhillings); dreſs for the feet and legs, 8 drachmas (7 livres 4 ſols, or 6 ſhillings) (*t*).

SAME CHAP. PAGE 334.

On the Property bequeathed to Demoſthenes by his Father.

THE father of Demoſthenes was eſteemed a rich man (*u*); yet he left his ſon only about 14 talents, nearly 75,600 livres (or 3150l. ſterling) (*x*). His inheritance chiefly conſiſted in the following articles: 1ſt. A ſword manufactory, in which thirty ſlaves were kept at work (*y*). Two or three of the principal ones were each of them worth 5 or 600 drachmas, about 500 livres (or near 20 guineas); the others at leaſt 300 drachmas, 270 livres (11 l. 5 s.): their labour was annually worth 30 minæ, or 2700 livres (112 l. 10 s.), all expences deducted. 2dly. A manufactory of beds, which employed twenty ſlaves, worth 40 minæ, or 3600 livres (150 l.): they produced annually 12 minæ, or 1080 livres (45 l. ſterling). 3dly. A ſtock of ivory, iron, and wood (*z*), worth 80 minæ, or 7200 livres (300 l. ſterling. The ivory was made uſe of for the bed feet (*a*),

(*s*) Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 1227.
(*t*) Id. in Plut. v. 983.
(*u*) Demoſth. in Aphob. p. 896, 901, 904.
(*x*) Id. ibid. p. 895.
(*y*) Id. ibid. p. 896.
(*z*) Id. ibid.
(*a*) Plat. ap. Athen. lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 48.

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or the handles and ſheaths of ſwords (*b*). 4thly. Gall-nuts and copper, worth 70 minæ, or 6300 livres (262 l. 10 s.). 5thly. A houſe, worth 30 minæ, or 2700 livres (112 l. 10 s.). 6thly. Furniture, vaſes, cups, gold trinkets, robes, and the toilet of his mother; 100 minæ, or 9000 livres (375 l.). 7thly. Money lent out, or employed in trade (*c*).

CHAP. XXII. Page 383.

On the Weight and Value of ſome Offerings in Gold, ſent to the Temple of Delphi by the Kings of Lydia, and deſcribed in Herodotus (lib. 1, cap. 14, 50, &c.); and in Diodorus Siculus (lib. 16, p. 452).

In reducing the talents of gold into ſilver talents, I ſhall take the proportion of 1 to 13, as in the time of Herodotus (*d*); and in eſtimating the ſilver talent, I ſhall follow the tables I have given in this work. They are adapted to the Attic talent, and ſuppoſe the drachma of ſilver to weigh 79 grains. It may be neceſſary however to appriſe the reader that it may poſſibly have been 2 or 3 grains heavier in the time of that hiſtorian. The following is the value of the offerings of gold, according to the weight aſſigned to them by Herodotus:

(*b*) Demoſth. in Aphob. p. 898. Laert. lib. 6, § 65.
(*c*) Demoſth. ibid. p. 896.
(*d*) Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 95.

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	French livres.	Pounds ſterling.
6 large crateræ weighing 30 talents, worth 390 talents of ſilver, and of our money .	2,106,000.	87,750.
117 ſemi-plinths weighing 232 talents, worth 3046 talents of ſilver, our money . .	16,286,400.	678,600.
A lion weighing 10 talents, worth 130 talents of ſilver	702,000.	29,250.
A ſtatue weighing 8 talents, worth 104 talents of ſilver	561,600.	23,400.
A cratera weighing 8 talents and 42 minæ, worth 113 talents 6 minæ of ſilver . .	610,740.	25,447. 10 s.
To theſe offerings Diodorus Siculus (e) adds 360 phials of gold, weighing each 2 minæ; which make 12 golden talents, worth 156 talents of ſilver, and of our money . .	842,400.	35,100.
Total	21,109,140.	879,547. 10 s.

Some differences are indeed to be met with in the calculations of Herodotus and Diodorus; but an examination of theſe would lead me too far.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 392.

On the Vapour of the Cavern of Delphi.

THIS vapour was of the nature of mephitic exhalations: it roſe only to a certain height. It appears that the earth had been thrown up round the aperture, for which reaſon it is ſaid that perſons deſcended to this opening. The tripod being thus ſunk, it is no difficult matter to conceive by what means the ſteam aſcended to the prieſteſs, without affecting the prieſts or other perſons who ſtood near.

(e) Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 452.

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CHAP. XXV. PAGE 445.

On the Plan of a Grecian Houſe.

M. PERRAULT has given us the plan of a Grecian houſe, from the deſcription of Vitruvius (*f*). M. Galiani has publiſhed a ſecond, which is unqueſtionably preferable to that of Perrault (*g*). I now ſubmit a third to the reader, which the late M. Mariette was ſo obliging as to draw at my requeſt, and to vindicate by a memoir now in my poſſeſſion.

I do not pretend to affirm, that at the period I have fixed for the travels of Anacharſis, many Athenians were poſſeſſed of houſes of ſuch extent and magnificence; but as Demoſthenes aſſerts that ſome were built in his time which ſurpaſſed in beauty (*h*) thoſe ſuperb edifices with which Pericles had embelliſhed Athens, I am juſtified in ſuppoſing that thoſe houſes did not eſſentially differ from that delineated by Vitruvius.

(*f*) Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 6, cap. 10. Perrault, ibid.
(*g*) Galiani Architet. di Vitruv. ibid.
(*h*) Demoſth. Olynth. 3, p 38 et 39. Id. de Rep. Ord. p. 127. Id. in Ariſtocr. p. 758.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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